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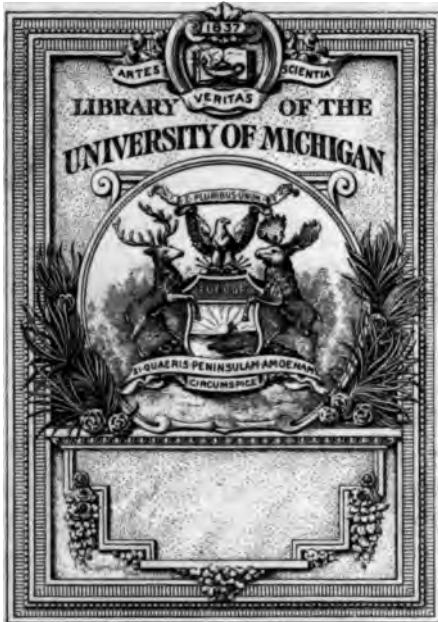
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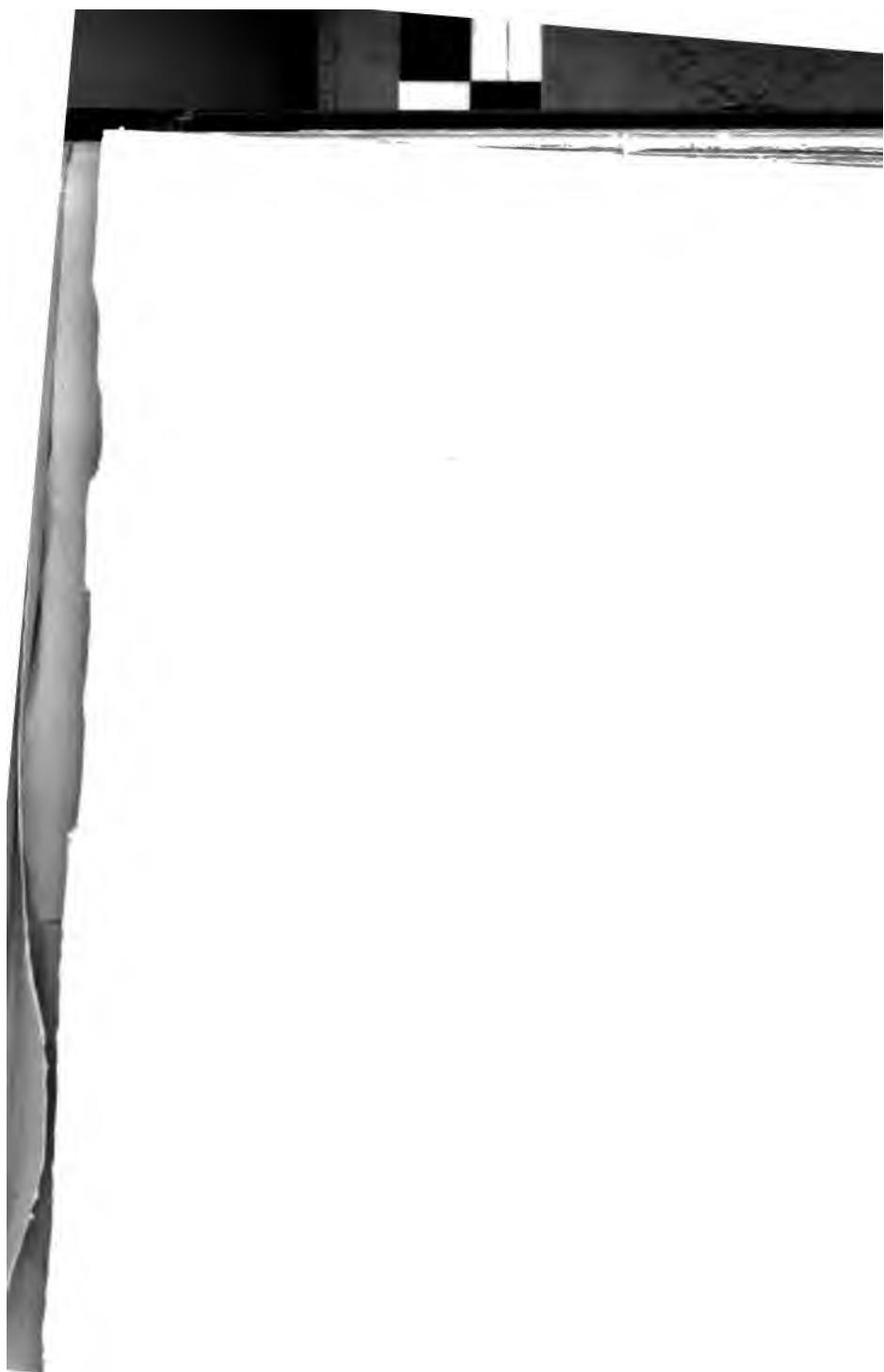
THE STORY OF THE PALATINES

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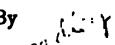
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The Story of the Palatines

An Episode in Colonial
History

By 
Sanford H. Cobb



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1897

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TO THE
CHILDREN OF THE PALATINES
MY
OLD PARISHIONERS
IN THE
HIGH-DUTCH CHURCHES
OF
SCHOHARIE AND SAUGERTIES





PREFATORY NOTE.

MANY letters, received since the fact became known that the publication of this Story of the Palatines was contemplated, render it proper to state, by way of preface, that the book is purely historical and in no sense genealogical. The sole attempt has been to narrate, in as brief compass as was consistent with the value and interest of the facts, the story of a people. The tracing of the lines of family descent did not come within the scope of such a narrative. To do that for all the Palatines would be work for more than a lifetime ; and were it done, the record thereof would be out of place in a book designed for the general historical student.

Nor has any attempt been made to transfer to these pages the name-lists of the several immigrations. *The Documentary History of*

New York contains the list of those who came in 1708 with Kockerthal, and also some names of those settled at the two Camps. The Pennsylvania Archives contain lists of over thirty thousand names of those who came to Pennsylvania. These lists have been published by Rupp, who also gives names of Palatines on the Hudson in 1711. Beyond these the author does not know of other lists accessible in this country. Nor is he aware that any lists have been preserved in London of the immigrations to North Carolina and Virginia, and of that to New York in 1710. Of this last company Rupp's list of Palatines on the Hudson is a very incomplete record, as many of the people died on the voyage, and many on Governor's Island, while about three hundred settled in the city of New York.

Such lists, however, are not needed for the purpose of this work. The addition of them to the present volume would swell it beyond reasonable limits, and defeat the chief aim of its writing, viz. : the giving to the general student of American history an account, not now widely known, of one distinct and unique element in our colonization, which some historians

have entirely ignored and others have treated with undeserved reproach.

The short collection of Palatine names, given in Note I. at the end of the volume, is designed only as a specimen list, taken almost at random, to illustrate the permanency of the Palatine stock, and the changes of form which many of the names have suffered.

S. H. C.



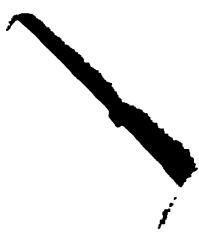
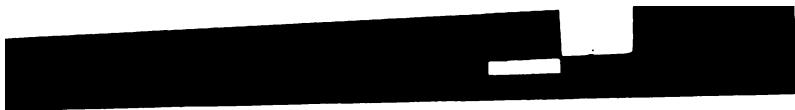


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THE STORY OF THE PALATINES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE reasons for writing this Story of the Palatines are several. Chief among them are these three: that it has never been written in its fulness, or with proper regard to its historic importance; that much of the little which has been written about it abounds in misunderstandings and misstatements; and that the story truly told is one of such intrinsic interest and bears such relation to colonial history as to make it worthy of regard by every student of American society and institutions.

The Palatines

That which by most people, who know anything about the Palatine Immigration, is supposed to be alluded to in any reference to that people, is merely the incoming of the large company which landed in New York in the early summer of 1710. They made the largest body of emigrants coming at one time to this country in the colonial period. There were nearly three thousand of them, and they were perhaps at once the most miserable and most hopeful set of people ever set down upon our shores.

But they were not all. A small band had preceded them to New York ; about the same time as their own coming, a company of seven hundred had gone to North Carolina, and another company to Virginia ; and in later years they were followed by many thousands of their countrymen in the Palatinate, the vast majority of whom found settlement in Pennsylvania. These various immigrations make in reality one story, having, as they do, one source and bound together by a common impulse, constituting a distinct episode in colonial history well worthy of study, and quite unique in its interest and character.

Of these immigrations there are many scattered notes of mention in Colonial Records, and many incidental and fragmentary allusions in local histories, sketches, and biographies. But of the movement of these people as a whole, with the statement of its causes and the singular experience to which a large portion of them came in America, no full or connected narrative has yet appeared. Much of the brief mention accorded to it is with the evident assumption that the movement was insignificant and possessed of no features worthy of special comment, save the almost unparalleled poverty of the immigration of 1710. The allusions to these people are apt to lay particular emphasis on that condition. They are most frequently called "the poor Palatines." So to some writers they seem to stand in the history as representative only of pauperism, to be dismissed from discussion so soon as possible with scant measure of courtesy or respect. Thus Mrs. Lamb turns them out of court with the following contemptuous paragraph :

"These earlier German settlers were mostly hewers of wood and drawers of water, differing materially from

The Palatines

the class of Germans who have since come among us, and bearing about the same relation to the English, Dutch, and French settlers of their time as the Chinese of to-day bear to the American population on the Pacific coast."

With this disparaging comment we may contrast the words by which Macaulay describes the same people :

"Honest, laborious men, who had once been thriving burghers of Manheim and Heidelberg, or who had cultivated the vine on the banks of the Neckar and the Rhine. Their ingenuity and their diligence could not fail to enrich any land which should afford them an asylum."

Such contemptuous regard as that of the language first quoted is surprising to one who has made even a slight study of the story of these people, in which are conspicuous other features than their poverty,—some worthy to engage the positive interest of every student of American history, and others fit to compel the hearty respect of all lovers of truth and manliness. It is a story of severe and undeserved suffering worthily borne ; a story of the stubborn and unyielding attitude of men who,

for home and faith, endured an almost unequalled fight of afflictions, until at last they conquered peace, safety, and freedom. As such, the Story of the Palatines challenges our sympathy, admiration, and reverence, and is as well worth the telling as that of any other colonial immigration. We may concede that their influence on the future development of the country and its institutions was not equal to the formative power exerted by some other contingents. Certainly, they have not left so many broad and deep marks upon our history as have the Puritans of New England, and yet their story is not without definite and permanent monuments of beneficence towards American life and institutions. At least one among the very greatest of the safeguards of American liberty—the Freedom of the Press—is distinctly traceable to the resolute boldness of a Palatine.

But to create interest in their story it is not necessary to assert a superiority of influence. The historian is like the geographer in that the smaller items, the minor lines and points of description, claim from him fully as accurate, though not as extended, presentation as

those which are more important. The coastline upon the chart is not complete until it indicates each bay or cove wherein a skiff can float, and every rock or bar on which a keel may grate. A river map is not finished which fails to trace the course of any affluent, though it be so small that the deer can cross it at a bound. The lover of nature looks with different, and yet equal, interest on the little brook, tumbling riverward down the rocks and beneath the forests of the Catskills, and on the broad bay at the river's mouth, on which the navies of the world might ride. Indeed, it is likely that the beauty of the former will enchain his eye more strongly than the grandeur of the latter. Certainly, he would deny that, in order to enlist his regard, the lovely mountain stream must put on the majesty of the sea. So history finds its pleasing task in tracing all the streams, both great and small, which have run together in a nation's life; of which, while some will challenge admiration for their volume and lasting power, others will excite interest by their unique experience, not to be read without more or less of a sympathetic thrill.

For such reason—whatever may have been the Palatine influence on our institutions—we may confidently tell the story of that immigration as something quite worthy of regard. We may speak of its character, the causes which gave it rise, the stages of its progress, and the exceptional experiences of many of these people during their first fifteen years in America, as making a story quite singular and unlike any other contained in the history of American colonization. Very emphatic are the words of Judge Benton, in his *History of Herkimer County*:

“The particulars of the immigration of the Palatines are worthy of extended notice. The events which produced the movement in the heart of an old and polished European nation to seek a refuge and home on the western continent, are quite as legitimate a subject of American history as the oft-repeated relation of the experiences of the Pilgrim Fathers.”

There are some general features of this movement which may be fitly noted here as suggestive of special interest. The volume of it was very remarkable. The doors of the Palatinate seemed to be set open wide, and through them poured for forty years an almost

continuous stream of emigrants, their faces set steadfastly towards America. There was nothing else like it in the colonial period, for numbers and steadiness of inflow. There were nearly three thousand of these people in the company landed in New York in June and July of 1710. Though the arrivals in port of the ships bringing them were at intervals through five weeks, stormy seas having separated the vessels, yet the company was one, and sailed as such from England under one command and with one destination. This was the largest single company of immigrants to this country until long after the Revolution. Their number was indeed inconsiderable when compared with the enormous crowds which come to America in our day. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century such an influx was notable indeed, giving rise to amazement and imaginings, and occasion for alarm to some timorous minds. The community in city and province was set questioning as to the meaning of so great an immigration—Whence came they? Why in so great number, and in so deep poverty? What could be the object of the home government in, not only permit-

ting, but encouraging such an influx of foreigners? What shall be done with them? How can they be provided for? The questionings were many. There were grave speculations as to the wisdom of introducing so large a foreign element into these English colonies. When in the following years it was seen that this immigration of 1710 was the prelude to a continuous stream of people from the Palatinate and other parts of the German Empire, this cautiousness found voice in earnest public speech, and sought restrictive power in legislative action. It was loudly declared in some quarters that the unrestricted incoming of alien people, with their strange language and manners, might be dangerous to colonial government and society. Coming in so great numbers and so frequent accessions, they might in a short time obtain the majority in any community, and "subvert our institutions." With the French upon our borders—it was said—always hostile, frequently stirring up the Indians against us, their peace little better than an armed truce, is it wise to admit other aliens to our very firesides?

All this, indeed, did not come to expression

or to thought at once upon the immigration of 1710, but, most of it, on the continuance of the movement then begun ; which continuance must be borne in mind in any proper understanding of the Story of the Palatines. As to the immediate effect on the colonial mind of the coming of this first great immigration of the Palatines, it seems to have been mainly one of surprise. In those days travel, by land or sea, was difficult and with many hardships ; the movement of large bodies of people was slow ; the voyage across the Atlantic took from three to five months, and was made in ships devoid of all the comforts which the modern traveller considers necessities. The landing then of this large company was a most notable thing in the history of the Port of New York ; and to every on-looking New Yorker, whether Dutch or English, assumed either the proportions of an invasion or the dignity of an exodus.

Well—it was an Exodus. As we study the story of it, we see that the untaught wonder of the average on-looker at the time was correct in its expression. It was an exodus in the full sense in which Bible story has taught us

to use that word—a going forth from the house of bondage to a land of promise. It was not the incoming of a rabble of distressed humanity, hurried onward by the mere force of their misery—objects only for compassion. It was not a mere company of people deceived by agents of colonization schemes, and to be looked upon only as “objects of speculation.” Nor are these people to be considered as merely moved by that unreasoning unrest which at times takes possession of the popular mind with such collective force as to set in motion migrations and invasions. All of these constructions of the Palatine immigration have severally been suggested and more or less emphasized by those who have alluded to it.

But it is not difficult to show that such conceptions are unworthy and far below the real dignity of the movement. Attentive regard will discover in it motives and reasons far higher than anything which poverty, or unrest, or speculation can originate. It presents the impulse, the spirit, the patience, and the hope which a genuine exodus involves. These men were men of principle, who had suffered much for principle and steadfastness therein. The

very poverty, which to some critics seems suggestive only of opprobrium, had come upon them for such steadfastness. Their story rightly told must tell of statecraft and church polity, of the movements and campaigns of armies. It must speak of sufferings which approach to martyrdom, of the dark crimes possible to kings and priests, of the oppressions wrought by unbridled power and the passive resistance offered by a steadfast adherence to truth. The Pilgrim Fathers were not the only company who sought in this western world "Freedom to worship God." The fact is that, if ever a body of emigrants came to America from under the hand of the oppressor, such were these Palatines; and if ever the thought of religious liberty constrained men to leave their native land for hoped-for freedom in America, such hope was powerful with these children of the Palatinate. Hence it is, that the story of their coming hither, with the bitterness and pathos of their antecedent suffering and endurance, and the sturdiness of their unconquerable faith and determination to wrest fortune and happiness out of the very talons of despair, is one that

should be better known to the student of American history.

In addition to that experience of affliction in the Palatinate which was the expelling cause of the migration, there are other elements of the story which give it singular interest and unique place in colonial annals. Perhaps never were a people the objects of such kindly treatment and so lavish generosity as the first few thousands of the Palatines experienced at the hands of the English, the Queen and her subjects vying in the effort to provide for their necessities. That chapter is unexampled elsewhere in history. Equally unexampled in the history of our colonial period is the story of the privation, distress, fraud, and cruel disappointment to which were subjected that large immigration to New York in 1710. Their experience was utterly unlike that of all other bodies of colonists. Those of their countrymen who came in after years, as did emigrants from England or other European countries, met no such distresses, and were under the pleasing compulsion only to subdue the wilderness and make for themselves homes in a new land. But the Palatine

immigrants of 1710 found, to their bitter sorrow, that they had only made an exchange of masters. For fifteen years they suffered, with a disappointment of their hopes, a continuance of affliction ; they were cheated and oppressed, and became the helpless victims of vindictive and rapacious men. Much of their affliction in America is set down by some writers to their own ignorance and obstinacy. But it will appear that their ignorance was rather an unwise trust in the promises of those in power, and that without their obstinacy, which in Europe had maintained their faith, they never, in that generation at least, would have found in America security of home and freedom. This, to the average reader, will seem a strange statement as descriptive of any community in the colonial period. Of that period, the most prominent conception is of an era in which the oppressed of the Old World found without failure an unrestrained freedom on American shores. For the most part this conception is true ; and it is the unlikeness of this description to the early fate of these Palatines in New York which makes their experience during the first decade and a half

so remarkable an episode in the history of the colonies.

As to the permanent influence of this Palatine immigration, it goes without the saying that it were impossible for such sturdiness of stock, such patient and firm persistence in the right, such capacity for endurance, and such buoyancy of hope, conjoined with such addiction to religion, to be absorbed into American life without a deep impress on the character of after generations. Nor does the historian wait long for its testimony. Solely on account of the large influx of this German, and chiefly Palatine, element into Pennsylvania, bringing thither their qualities of industry, thrift, steadiness, and piety, the contemporary historian, Mortimer, declared that "Pennsylvania is since become by far the most populous and flourishing colony for its standing of any in British America."* So early did the beneficial effects of this immigration begin to manifest themselves.

And to this day we can see with small effort the reproduction in the population of the Keystone State of that same moral earnestness,

* *History of England*, iii., 233.

soberness of mind, and unflinching persistence which composed the "staying" qualities of the early Palatines.

In like manner a similar monument is left in New York, in many towns in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, and on the banks of the beautiful Schoharie, wherein are found many names of the early migration, families in direct descent and with the same old High Dutch leaven, delighting in memories of the fathers, steadily ambitious to emulate their virtues, thrifty, industrious, intelligent, and godly. Out of this stock came many who were second to none in the ardor of the Revolution. Far better than most of the people of the colonies they knew what it was to suffer under the hand of the oppressor, and by contrast how desirable were the blessings of liberty. Whole companies of them went to the front,—brave and loyal always,—first against the French and Indians, and afterwards against the British. They were largely Palatines whom Herkimer led to the battle of Oriskany, "of all the battles of the Revolution, the most obstinate and murderous."* It was to the Americans

* Fiske's *Am. Revolution*, i., 292.



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a technical defeat, indeed, but one of those defeats which rival victories ; for it shattered the plans of the British campaign, sent St. Leger with his regulars and Indians back to Oswego, and delivered Burgoyne into the hands of Gates.

Herkimer, than whom no braver man fought in the War for Independence, was the son of a Palatine immigrant, and lends his glory to their story. Other names might be cited in the same category of Palatine extraction and honorable public service. A stock that produced such virile and widely serviceable characters as Weiser, Herkimer, Heister, and the Muhlenbergs,—of which last name no less than four of those who bore it have laid America under tribute for praise and honor,—such a stock should not be considered the least significant or influential among those which have made our country what it is.

These then are the reasons for telling this Story of the Palatines. We would rescue it from undeserved obloquy. The tale will take us far afield. We have not only to look at that miserable company—sick, discouraged, sordid in their poverty and deci-

*

mated by disease—landing at New York in the summer of 1710. We have to inquire what thrust them into that evil case. We will need to visit the land which they and their followers spurned with migrating foot. We must see them ground between the upper and nether millstones of kingcraft and priestcraft. We will have to follow the tracks of armies, and listen to some of the contentions of royal cabinets. Then across the sea in the new land we shall note their various settlements and dispersion.

The sources of information on many points are far from full, leaving many gaps in the narrative which the reader wishes to have filled. Yet comparison of the accessible data makes it possible to construct a tale, which we do not hesitate to publish as the true Story of the Palatines, and which is confidently offered as a thing of interest and value to the student of American history.

It is probable that many more items of the story might be found in the papers of the Lords of Trade, preserved in London, and in other archives of the English Government. But the labor and expense of consulting them

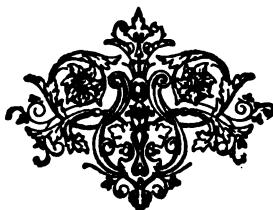


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do not seem demanded by the task in hand. All the main facts and much of the minute detail are accessible in this country. It will be seen from the list of authorities cited, that no small pains have been bestowed to arrive at a true understanding of the facts, and to place this Episode in its deserved position among the records of our colonial times.*

* See Note III.

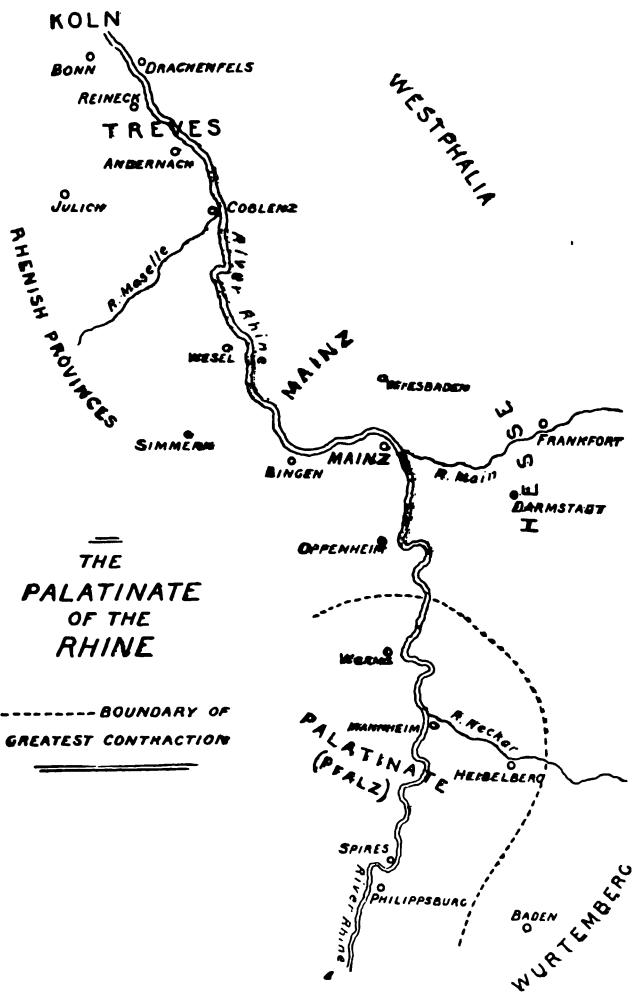


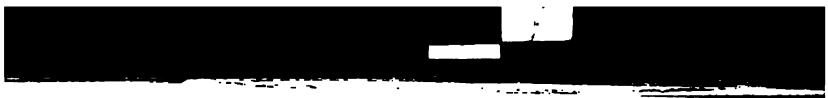


CHAPTER II.

THE PALATINATE.

THE name of the Palatinate, as that of a political division, disappeared from the map of Europe before the opening of the present century, the principality being finally shattered by the Napoleonic wars. From the thirteenth century to the close of the eighteenth it maintained a varying importance among the continental powers. Its boundaries were changeable with the shifting fortunes of diplomacy and war. Situated between the greater and rival powers of France and the German princes, its soil was the frequent path of armies and field of battle. Either of the greater combatants, but more frequently the French, was wont to appropriate what towns and castles, what broad acres and treasures of the Palatinate he thought himself able





to retain. In the settlement of treaties, however, when each contestant was wearied by the war, and when, more often than otherwise, the *status quo* was re-established—proof of the folly of the war—the reigning prince of the Palatinate was apt to come to his own again.

There were, in fact, two Palatinates—distinguished as the Upper, or Bavarian, Palatinate, and the Lower, or Palatinate of the Rhine—or the Pfalz. The latter, with which alone this story is concerned, was by far the more important, and so overshadowed the other that, when the name Palatinate was used without qualifying word, the understanding was of the Rhenish province. Its boundaries may be somewhat vaguely stated as the states of Mainz, Treves, Lorraine, Alsace, Baden, and Wurtemberg; boundaries subject to more or less of expansion and contraction, according as one or other of its little provinces became the spoil of war. Its lands lay on both sides of the Rhine, extending from near Cologne above Mannheim and containing somewhat less than 3500 square miles. Its capital was Heidelberg and its principal cities were Mayence, Spires, Mannheim, and Worms, all of

which, with still others, have obtained famous place in history.

The origin of the name, Palatinate is notable. Derived from the title of its ruler, it means the principality of the Palatine. This title, Palatine, is in itself peculiar, and receives its explanation from imperial institution. It is supposed by some writers to go so far back as to imperial Rome and to the Palatine Hill, with its palace of the Cæsars.* Others date the title from the time of the Merovingian kings of France, with whose court was connected a high judicial officer, called *comes palatii*. He was Master of the royal household, "and had supreme authority in all causes which came by fiction to the king. When the sovereign wished to confer peculiar favor upon the holder of any fief under him, he granted him the right to exercise the same power in his province as the Comes Palatii exercised in the royal palace. With this function went the title *comes Palatinus*, Count Palatine, and from the ruler the province received its name."

Butler † gives a somewhat broader explana-

* Appleton's *Am. Cyc.*

† *Revolutions in Germany*, Proofs and Illustrations, p. 45.

tion of the title, as one conferred by the Emperor in the Middle Ages upon those who in his name administered justice to the empire. Evidently the original intention of the officer was with the idea of a High Court of Justice. As such the title is even found in English history, conferred by both William I. and Henry II. on nobles in the centre and west of England. As an English title it soon passed away, but retained its place for centuries upon the Continent. Under the old Hungarian constitution it was the title of the royal lieutenant, who at a later period officiated as mediator between the nation and the sovereign, and as President in the upper house of the Diet. Also in Poland the title obtained for the governors of the larger divisions of the kingdom. None of these ever achieved as Count Palatine, any historical prominence. The chief significance of the title is found in the story of the Palatinate, the ruler of which was a king in everything but name, and frequently exercised large influence on European politics.

Now, the curious thing in historical nomenclature is that, unlike all other princes, the ruler of the Palatinate did not receive his title

from the land he governed, but from his title gave the name to his dominions. Louis XIV., with all his magnificence, took his title from his realm and was known as King of France. But the Count Palatine was not so named because he ruled the Palatinate, but that country was the Palatinate because its ruler was a Palatine. Another curious thing is that the people of the Palatinate were described by the same name as their prince. They were all Palatines together, a title with him descriptive of place, honor, and authority, but with them only of birth and nationality. Such, indeed, is the fact with respect to all the emigrants from that country, though how widely the name may have obtained in continental usage does not appear. It is somewhat curious that these people should at times be called Palatinates—a misnomer which is almost grotesque. It is the same sort of absurdity as though one, in speaking of Englishmen, should call them Englands. Palatinate is the name of the country and never properly used for its inhabitants, who are always to be called Palatines, with their princes. As a name for the American immigrants, indeed, it had obtained such vogue,

doubtless in consequence of the impression made on the colonial mind by the character and volume of the early immigration of that people, that for many years all Germans coming to this country, whether from the Palatinate or other provinces of the Fatherland, were called Palatines.

At the first the title of Count Palatine signified only a personal office, expiring with the life of its possessor, and to be renewed only on the pleasure of the Emperor in such person as his favor should designate. Probably under such conditions, and with such limitation of tenure, the title may have been more widely conferred as special and personal mark of imperial regard. In many such cases it must have been a title more of honor than of authority. This personal and temporary character certainly obtained with the Palatines of England, Hungary, and Poland. As early as the twelfth century, however, the title of the Palatines of the Rhine became hereditary, and no longer dependent on the favor of the Emperor. Until near the end of the thirteenth century the Palatines of the Rhine were the Dukes of Bavaria, the last of whom to bear both digni-

ties was Louis, the Severe. He died in 1294, leaving two sons, Louis and Rudolph, between whom he divided his dominions.* Louis, the elder, took the more important and became Duke of Bavaria, while his brother received the Palatinate, and founded what is called the Rudolphine line of the Palatine family. The position of the Palatine was in all respects regal, save in so far as it was limited by those loose bands which bound all the German States, together with Austria, in the Holy Roman Empire. During the tenure of the Rudolphine line, the dignity and power of the Palatine were further increased by the imperial gift of the Electorship. By reason of this gift in rank and position, the title of the prince was changed, who thereafter was no longer Count, but the Elector, Palatine.

The Rudolphine house became extinct on the death of Otho, the twelfth of the line, who died without issue in the year 1559. On his death the Palatinate passed to Frederick, of the house of Simmeren—or Zimmern—who became the founder of the so-called Middle Line of the Palatines. The accession of Fred-

* Butler's *Revolutions in Germany*.

erick, in addition to the change of dynasty, marked an epoch of importance in the history of the Palatinate, in that he associated himself and his house with the Reformed, or Calvinistic, branch of the Protestant Church.

The Zimmern line ended with the death of the childless Charles in 1685, and gave place to the related House of Neuburg in the person of Philip William. Philip died in 1690, and was succeeded by his son John William, whose reign as Elector Palatine lasted until 1716. It was in his reign that the Palatines of our story began their exodus, and it was from his hand that proceeded the last and most immediate, though not the greatest, impulse to that emigration.

This impulse, it may be said in passing, was religious, for, while this emigration was not from under a pitiless and destructive persecution for religion's sake, and while it may be doubted whether so large an exodus of this people would have taken place had their religion only have come in question, yet it is beyond denial that among the strong incentives which led them forth was the desire for religious liberty, free from the vexing and oppress-

ive interference of capricious monarchs. The religious history of the Palatinate, so far as concerns the attitude and measures of the government, was indeed capricious. The situation of the country brought the people into early contact with the Reformation and its great teachers. Wittenberg was not far to the east, and Geneva no farther on the south, and the people were open-eared to both Luther and Calvin. For some years before the court of the Elector Palatine had pronounced its adhesion to the Protestant faith the principles of the Reformation had taken almost universal possession of the people. Both Lutheran and Reformed doctrine found a friendly and fertile soil in the Palatinate. The numerical strength was with the followers of Geneva, to that extent that for generations the Palatinate was known as a stronghold of the Reformed ; while the Lutheran element, found in large numbers, was accorded by their neighbors of the Reformed faith the charity and tolerance of a common Christian brotherhood. So when the people began to flock across the sea, Lutheran and Reformed came together, bringing each his own special thought and desire of

worship and doctrine. It is interesting to note in the history of their settlements in America, that almost in every place where they made their permanent homes both forms of the Protestant faith found early foothold and habitation. Side by side they erected their humble churches, since grown in many places into noble temples. And to this day, in the valleys of the Hudson, the Mohawk, the Schoharie, and the Swatara, the children of those Palatines, still Lutheran and Reformed, worship side by side as their fathers of the sixth generation gone worshipped on the Rhine.

But of this unity in difference the rulers of the Palatinate can not be exhibited with their people as examples. They lagged behind the people in breaking the bond of the Roman faith, and it was not until 1546 that Frederick II., the then reigning Elector Palatine, gave in adhesion to the Protestant cause—especially espousing the Lutheran faith. As already noted, Frederick III., the first Palatine of the House of Zimmern, signalized his accession to power by the strenuous advocacy of the Reformed doctrine. During his reign, on his urgency and authority, Olevian and Ursinus,

professors of divinity in the University of Heidelberg, published that Catechism, which under the name of Heidelberg remains to this day throughout the various branches of the Reformed Church, the dearest among its symbolical books ; and is also recognized throughout the Protestant world as the best and choicest of the Creeds to which the Reformation era gave rise ; specially notable, at once, for its freedom from the controversial spirit of the age, and for the high tone of spiritual experience which it depicts.

The successors of Frederick III. did not all adhere to the Reformed doctrine and Church, but with a vacillation, not recorded of other rulers of their century, exhibited a change in the religion of the Palatine and his court on nearly every accession to the throne. A Calvinist in the Electorship was pretty certain to be followed by a Lutheran, who in his turn gave place at death to another Calvinist, to be followed by yet another Lutheran. It was a kind of religious seesaw, in which all the power of royal favor and influence of court patronage, and at times the force of decrees and enactments, were thrown now at one end of the

beam and soon again at the other, to the no small confusion of the people, and in many instances to their very serious discomfiture and loss. For in those days throughout Christendom obtained the old motto, "*Cujus regio, ejus religio*"—(whose is the country, his is the religion ;—or, the religion of the prince, must be that of his people). This as an axiom had come down from the time of Augustine, who defined the first duty of the State "to buttress the invisible City of God"; and of all the great minds of the Reformation period the only one to break away from its dictum was the Stadtholder of Holland, William the Silent. Luther and Calvin, Knox and Cranmer, and even the Puritans of New England acknowledged as vital the principle that the State could interfere in the religion of the subject. Not only did they assent to the axiom as correct, but they incorporated it in their confessions and institutions. It took not only the persecutions of Papal Rome, the Holy Office and the sword of Alva; but also the innumerable petty persecutions of Protestant against Protestant, to teach the world the meaning and divine right of religious liberty. Nor could

the Old World furnish a fitting field for its demonstration. There was needed the free soil of the America, to which that band of Palatines came, before this greatest of all human rights could find expression in national life and law. And it may be added, this definition and enactment of Religious Liberty is as yet the great gift of America to the world ; which liberty in its purest form—strange as it seems at this end of the nineteenth century—among all the great nations of Christendom exists alone in America to-day.

It is not then a matter for surprise that the people of the Palatinate should suffer many distresses under the sway of varying religionists, though all were of the Protestant faith. Each successor in the throne endeavored to change back again, in the interest of either Lutheranism or Calvinism, what his immediate predecessor had recast to his own mind. The story of the Reformation tells of no other such religious kaleidoscope, turning over and over to the constant unsettlement of the public comfort. When, in 1690, John William became the Elector Palatine, he brought on the greatest change of all, seeking not to turn his peo-

ple from one to other Protestant communion, but to reverse the action of Frederick II., and bring the Palatinate again under the Roman See. He was a man of saturnine disposition, devotedly attached to the Roman Church, and needing only the power of Philip II. of Spain to rival his reputation as bigot and persecutor. Under his rule the poor people of the Palatinate suffered in their religious affections and privileges far more than the variable Protestantism of his predecessors had inflicted. To him Lutheran and Reformed were alike obnoxious, and in all ways possible he signified his intention to bring back his dominions to their ancient faith. To the people already suffering from the intolerable hardships which the cruelest of wars had thrust upon them, this persecuting spirit of their prince came as the last impulse to break off their attachment to the fatherland and send them to make new homes in distant America.

Of the wars which wrought upon the Palatines so piteously and expulsively, it falls in place to make brief note. There were two of them, covering almost the entire period between the years 1684 and 1713, with but

four years of so-called peace thrust into the midst of it. The first is known as the war of the Grand Alliance, and the other as that of the Spanish Succession. Of the former the conquest of the Palatinate was the exciting cause, while in the latter, though the integrity of the Palatinate was not again at stake, its poor people became again the prey of a brutal soldiery. Both wars were due to the overweening ambition and rapacity of Louis XIV.* The possession of the Palatinate had long been the object of his most covetous desire. Like all the princes of France, and almost all Frenchmen from the time of Philip Augustus to our own day, Louis considered that the frontier of France could be properly constructed only by the left bank of the Rhine. For this object many battles have been fought and many thousands of men have died. To the mind of France one of the chief glories of Napoleon was that he gave to her that boundary, and to-day the deep grudge of France against the German is that, twenty-five years ago he wrested from her the Rhenish provinces. So to Louis, the modern

* Menzel's *History of Germany*, ii., 498.

Ahab, through the first half of his long reign, the fertile meadows and vine-clad hills of the Palatinate, its populous towns and many castles with the smiling river in the midst, made a Naboth's vineyard which of all things he desired to call his own. Thus incited he made miserable the lives of the two Electors Palatine, Charles Louis and Charles, by every deceitful art of diplomacy and by many violent raids into their dominions. With the hope of propitiating him Charles Louis, in 1671, gave his daughter Elizabeth Charlotte in marriage to Philip of Orleans, the brother of the French king. But there, as in almost every other instance in history, the bond of kinship proved but as a rope of sand against the demands of an aggressive policy of state. The insolence of Louis hardly received a check. The lights had hardly been extinguished upon the nuptial banquet, when Turenne led an army into the Palatinate to ravage the west bank of the Rhine. This was in 1674, and in the following years the policy of Louis so repeated his harassments and insults that the proud spirit of the Elector Palatine, Charles Louis, at last gave way, and he died "of a broken

heart" in 1680. His son Charles, subjected to like treatment by Louis, had but a short reign, dying childless in 1685.

With the death of Charles what Louis counted his great opportunity had come. The bonds of family alliance, which were too weak for restraint from insolence and oppression, seemed quite strong enough for the transference of a principality. He denied the right of Philip William of Neuburg to the succession, and demanded the Palatinate for his brother Philip, in right of his wife, the sister of the dead Palatine. The demand roused all the German princes in opposition. The League of Augsburg was formed against Louis, embracing Bavaria and all the German States, and under its protection Philip William assumed the Electorate Palatine.

Meanwhile, two other great events provided strength and bitterness for the coming conflict. In the autumn of 1685 Louis, incited thereto by the persuasions of Madame de Maintenon, revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which Henry IV. had given safety to the Huguenots and eighty years of prosperity to France. At once began the flight of the Refugees—"best blood

of France"—to seek safety and new homes in other lands. Many of them found a warm welcome with the Palatine and his people, against whom, for this act of harborage, the wrath of Louis "smoked like a furnace." Holland and England had also opened their doors to the fugitives, but the Palatinate especially, for the double reason that it was more accessible and was itself the object of his long desire, became the victim of his anger.

In addition to this element of the quarrel another was given by the deposition of James II. from the throne of England in 1688, and the accession of William of Orange. James was received with royal honors at Versailles, established in state at St. Germain, and made a pensioner on the bounty of Louis, who both refused to acknowledge William and aided James in his futile efforts to recover his lost crown. This precipitated the angry action of the English king and parliament. England with Holland joined the League against France, and its name was changed to the Grand Alliance.

The war raged for nine years, and in the

Palatinate with unparalleled ferocity. Louis, anticipating the action of the allies, sent 50,000 men into the Palatinate under General Montclas. History accredits to Madame de Maintenon an insatiable rage against the Palatine and his people for the asylum afforded to the Huguenots, and to her intrigues and persuasions that Louvois urged upon the king, that "the Palatinate should be made a desert." Macaulay dissents from this condemnation of Louis's wife and represents that she expostulated with the king against this policy of rapine, and that, having in vain interceded for many cities, she at last secured the saving of Treves. Possibly this view may be correct. The responsibility of de Maintenon for the banishment of the Huguenots is, however, beyond question, but one can take pleasure in thinking of this as the effect of pure religious bigotry unmixed with any love of cruelty. Nor, indeed, is it necessary to consider Louis as overpersuaded to that atrocity by his wife, or any one. The experience of vast and irresponsible power had long since made him a stranger to either pity or remorse. Neither his judgment nor his will approved the Revocation

of the Edict of Nantes. He was too wise in king-craft not to perceive the great material damage to the kingdom involved therein. To this he was overpersuaded by his wife and her priests. But having yielded to their solicitations and committed himself to their policy of extermination, he needed no other incentive than his own vindictiveness. Partly in revenge for the Protestant welcome given to his banished subjects, partly in anger at not securing the Palatinate for himself, and partly to render the country unfit for occupancy by the allies, he gave such orders as must have fully satisfied the utmost passion. Montclas and his lieutenant, Melac, were neither unwilling nor slow to execute the orders of Louis with as literal and complete a fulfilment as possible. Melac boasted that "he would fight for his king against all the powers of heaven* and of hell." Says Macaulay † :

"The French commander announced to nearly one half-million of human beings that he granted them three days of grace, and that within that time they must shift for themselves. Soon the roads and fields which then lay deep in snow were blackened by innumerable men,

* Menzel, ii., 499.

† *History of England*, iii., 123.

women, and children flying from their homes. Many died of cold and hunger, but enough survived to fill the streets of all the cities of Europe with lean and squalid beggars, who had once been thriving farmers and shopkeepers."

Every great city on the Rhine, above Cologne, was taken and sacked. Worms, Spires, Andernach, Kuckheim, Kreuznach, were laid in ashes. The fortress of Philippsberg was completely destroyed. Villages without number were given to the flames. The Elector Philip, looking from the walls of Mannheim counted, in one day, no less than twenty-three towns and villages in flames. Heidelberg suffered to some extent, but its castle escaped for a few years only the violence which in 1692 made it the most picturesque ruin in Europe. Many of the unoffending inhabitants were butchered. Many were carried into France and compelled to recant. In Spires the brutal soldiery, as though to express their contempt for things most sacred, broke open the imperial vaults and scattered the ashes of the emperors. The whole valley of the Rhine, on both its banks, from Drachenfels to Philippsberg, was made the prey of the demon of rapine and destruc-

tion. The crumbling walls, the deserted castles fallen into ruin, the isolated towers, ivy covered, which to-day interest the traveller on the Rhine, giving associations of historic beauty to almost every hill washed by its waters, are the marks, as yet indelible, of the wrath of Louis and the rapacity of his army. These ruins still remain, softened and beautified by time, but they tell a tale of fearful atrocity. And, in reality, far worse than aught they witness to, was the unspeakable barbarity suffered by the people. In the midst of the destruction of the towns and villages, such of the poor villagers as endeavored to rescue their goods were slain. "Everywhere in the fields were found the corpses of wretched people frozen to death. The citizens of Mannheim, were compelled to assist in destroying their fortifications, and then driven out, hungry and naked, into the winter cold, while their city was burned. In the neighborhood of Treves, Cologne and Julich the peasants were forced in the following summer to plow down their own standing crops."* The French, having thus wrought in the Palatinate and the

* Lewis's *History of Germany*, p. 462.

small States in the north, passed on through Wurtemberg and Bavaria, on all roads with fire and sword. At the end of the campaign, "a list of twelve hundred cities and villages, that still remained to be burned, was exhibited by these brigands."*

In 1689 Louis attempted through Jacobite intrigues the assassination of William III., and this outrage, added to the ferocities of the previous year's campaign in the Palatinate and Bavaria, at last aroused the hitherto indifferent Emperor Leopold, who now made common cause with the petty princes of Germany, who were in danger of being trodden under foot by the despotic monarch of France.† He procured the "decree of the Diet of Ratisbon (1689) which expelled every French agent from Germany and prohibited the employment of French servants and any intercourse with France; the Emperor adding these words, 'because France is to be regarded not only as the empire's most inveterate foe, but as that of the whole of Christendom, nay, as even worse than the Turk.'" This added new

* Menzel's *History of Germany*, ii., 500.

† Menzel, ii., 501.

fury to the war and new suffering to the poor people. In 1692 the French again turned attention to the Palatinate, as though to pick up what they had left behind four years before, and seizing Heidelberg, blew up its famous castle, leaving it the ruin that it is to-day. Thence through the valley of the Neckar and the higher Rhine, they resumed the destructive measures of the past.

The war with varying fortunes drew out its fearful length to 1697, with the balance of gain and by far the most brilliant victories on the side of Louis. But it was impossible of continuance. The finances of Louis were nearly exhausted, and a new ambition was luring him in view of the near death of the childless King of Spain. Meanwhile, the mutual distrust of the Allies was weakening their strength, and both parties to the contest hastened to conclude the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. This Peace makes a bitter satire on the utter folly of the war. By its terms Louis restored all his conquests to their legitimate possessors and recognized William of Orange as King of England. "Thus terminated," says Labberton * "this vast war, in

* Labberton's *Historical Atlas*, p. 135.

which the two parties had displayed on land and sea forces incomparably greater than Europe had ever seen before in motion. France, in order to maintain herself against this coalition, had nearly doubled her military status since the war with Holland. The result had been a barren honor. Alone against all Europe she had contrived to conquer, but without increasing her power. For the first time, on the contrary, since the accession of Richelieu, she had lost ground." In the midst of the war the Elector Palatine, Philip William died, in 1690. His son and successor, John William, as already noted, was a devoted adherent of the Church of Rome, and at once, while his people were still smarting under the terrible sufferings of the war, set himself to compel their conversion to his own faith. Bishop Burnet describes him * as "being bigoted to a high degree." He gives also an interesting sketch of Herr Zeiher, the representative of the Elector Palatine at the Congress of Ryswick, as † "born a Protestant, a subject of the Palatinate, he was employed by the Elector Charles Louis to negotiate affairs

* Burnet's *History of His Own Times*. iii., 223.

† *Ibid.*, iv., 63.

at the court of Vienna. He, seeing a prospect of rising at that court, changed his religion and became a creature of the Jesuits. He managed the secret practice with the French in the treaty of Ryswick by which the Protestants of the Palatinate suffered so considerable a prejudice." "The Elector Palatine," says Menzel,* "instantly enforced the maxim, *Cujus regio ejus religio*, throughout his dominions, and simulated Louis XIV. in tyranny towards the Protestants, who emigrated in large numbers."

The peace instituted by the treaty of Ryswick had but short life. Scarcely had the soldier put off his harness when he was summoned to put it on again. Another and greater war followed quickly on that of the Grand Alliance, once more making all Europe a camp and once more bringing desolation upon the people of the Palatinate. This was the war of the Spanish Succession, the origin and objects of which may be stated in few words.

Charles II. of Spain, the last of the Hapsburg dynasty, died without issue in 1700. The decision as to the succession had for years be-

* *History of Germany*, ii., 503.

fore his death furnished large occupation to the cabinets of Europe. There were three claimants: the Dauphin, the Emperor Leopold, and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, a grandson to the Emperor and as yet a child. Among these claimants the Spanish people indicated no preference, only insisting that the empire should remain undivided. It is not necessary for us to detail the grounds on which the conflicting claims were based. Suffice it to say, that Charles, in his will, declared the young Bavarian Prince the heir to all his dominions, hoping by such devise to forestall and prevent the impending conflict. Had the young Prince lived, it is possible that he might have ascended the Spanish throne without serious opposition, and the fearful war have been averted. But his sudden death in 1699, while Charles still hovered over the grave, opened the question afresh and made the war inevitable. The agents of Louis at once beset Charles, to extort from his weak mind an indication of favor towards the French claim. To these efforts was added the powerful influence of the Papal Embassy. Thus they succeeded in obtaining from the moribund monarch an-

other will, by which he set aside the renunciations of the two Infantas, mother and wife of Louis, and devised the crown of the entire Spanish Empire to Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis. At once, on the death of Charles, Philip assumed the crown, under the title of Philip V., and all Europe sprang to arms. Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, and the smaller German States formed a coalition against France; and again, as in the preceding war, Louis added to the number of his enemies by insolence to England. The disposition of William and his parliament was to keep out of the contest; only stipulating that, though the reigning houses of both France and Spain might be Bourbon, the two crowns must never be united upon the one head. But this passive attitude of England was suddenly changed into fury by an uncalled-for insult from Louis. While the opposing forces of the Continent were as yet only preparing for the conflict, the exiled James died at St. Germain, September, 1701; and Louis acknowledged his son as King of England. It is difficult to account for such action, save on the ground of sheer malice, for Louis was too astute a statesman to

suppose that the son of James could ever ascend the English throne. It was as though, having had William for a foe in almost all his wars of the past, he could not regard the new lists properly drawn without his old enemy in his front again. If this were his motive, he succeeded to perfection. Not only William, but all England was thoroughly roused, and decided to take part with the coalition. William, beyond all comparison the master statesman of Europe, was all powerful in Holland. That sturdy nation, always fighting on William's side, whether Stadholder or King, went with England into the alliance, and again presented the spectacle of France fighting single-handed against all the great Powers. The war lasted twelve years, being terminated in 1713 by the Peace of Utrecht. In this war the great victories were on the side of the allies. Blenheim, Ramillies, and Oudenarde set the names of Marlborough and Eugene among the greatest of the world's generals. It is a curious contrast presented by this war and the preceding with regard to their results. In the former all the great victories were won by the armies of Louis, but he kept nothing of

all gained thereby. In the latter Louis was defeated in every great battle, and yet he won what he fought for,—the crown of Spain for his grandson. By the treaty of Utrecht Philip was confirmed in its possession, though the empire was dismembered. The only other power to gain anything of permanent value in the war was England. She, in 1704, obtained possession of Gibraltar, as yet, nearly two hundred years after, unwrested from her grasp. The heaviest fighting of the war was in Bavaria, Northern Italy, and the Netherlands; but the Palatinate came in for its full share of accustomed desolations. It would seem that Louis could never forgive his failure to steal the principality for himself. His armies, seeking their foes in the north and east, made broad swathes of destruction across the Palatinate, notwithstanding the favor of the Palatine for the French and his religious sympathy with Louis. In every year one or other portion of the little State was made to suffer from the brutality of the French; and in 1707 the Marshal Villars led into it an army with the intent to repeat the work of desolation wrought by Montclas in 1688, having the same, though

not so universal, result in burning towns and impoverished people. And then began that exodus which brought so many thousands of the poor people to America.

At the first glance it may seem needless to relate, even after so brief fashion, the foregoing story of the two wars, which made for the subjects of the Palatine such a furnace of affliction. But it is well to see all things in their historical perspective. The cause of the lowliest, the sufferings of the humblest, gain in dignity—and that worthily—from association which groups them with the great events of history. This thought alone were sufficient for setting the emigration of the Palatines in its proper place as related to the councils of princes and the movement of great wars. This would be sufficient in telling any tale of historical interest.

But, as hinted in the Introduction, there is special reason for dwelling upon the influences of war and religious oppression as furnishing the moving causes of this migration. For some reason not explained the usual understanding has been quite different. In England, in the year after the migration of 1710, when

the tide of sympathy and charity had ebbed which sent the Palatines on their hopeful way to America, and when the Tories had displaced the Whigs from power, a committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate the causes of the Palatine emigration,* reported that it was entirely due to land speculators, who had obtained patents in the colonies and had sent agents into Germany to induce the peasantry to emigrate to America upon the said lands. Stress is laid upon the fact that the Palatines themselves had acknowledged the receipt of papers and books containing the portrait of Queen Anne, urging their emigration and promising gifts of land. No mention is made in that report of any other influence leading to the emigration, and the inference is made that these poor Palatines were deluded "objects of speculation," whom the arts of the land agents had, for their own purposes, foisted on the British public, to the great disturbance of home and colonial affairs. This report, evidently biased by political feeling and by disgust at the continuance of appeals for aid to the emigrants, cites the

* Burnet's *Own Times*, iv., 258.

Naturalization Act of 1708 as among the chief of the evil instruments that had precipitated on English shores this great stream of people from the Palatinate.

Some modern writers, who have alluded to the subject, seem to have been content to take this report as completely disposing of the question, and quenching the title of these Palatines to historic sympathy. It is remarkable that so scholarly a man as Dr. Homes, formerly Librarian of the State of New York, should have accepted the conclusions of this report as justified by the facts in the case.* He intimates that not much credit should be given to the Palatine claim that this people became exiles because of oppression.

One can hardly fail, on full study of the question, to be surprised at such conclusion ; for while it may be true that agents did solicit the migration, this fact is entirely consistent with the other fact that, because of sufferings endured through war and religious persecution, this people became promising objects of such solicitation. That is to say—the agents of land companies, if such there were,

* *Trans. Albany Institute*, vii., 106-132.

supposedly shrewd and businesslike, saw in the down-trodden and oppressed people of the Palatinate a field of operation, because of their very afflictions. While with an eye only to business they addressed their propositions to the poor Palatines, the solicitations must have seemed to open "in the valley of Achor a door of hope."

— It is notable also that, not only in 1708 and 1709 were all these emigrants departing from the Palatinate, and equally oppressed Swabia on its southern border, but also for forty years after, the vast majority of German immigrants to America were from the same quarter. The question is evident: Why should the land agents have confined their efforts to the Palatinate, and the Palatines alone have been desirous of emigration, unless there had been in their condition, and in the disposition of the government under which they lived, causes of such grave moment as predisposed them to leave their country? The singularity of choice by the agents of the Palatinate alone, and the ready disposition of the people to listen to their offers, as well as the remarkable fact that they alone of the Germans of their day had a

desire to change their country, certainly demand a broader and more significant explanation than a speculative fever. But given the condition of destitution resulting from the French invasion and the harassing measures of a Prince filled with proselyting zeal, we see at once the combination that disposed the people to at once accept the opportunity of escape.

It is significant also that, while the Palatines in London frankly stated the fact that they had been urged by the agents to their migration, yet in all their formal statements, petitions, and addresses to the authorities in England and America they cite the cruelties suffered from the French as the great cause of all. Some of their statements also affirm the religious oppression in their own country as another powerful influence toward emigration.

It is to be noted that Burnet, while recording the action of the House of Commons and the report of its committee, does not indicate his own judgment as in accord with its conclusions. On the contrary, in the two passages already cited,* he appears to state his own

* Burnet's *Own Times*, iii., 223, iv., 63.

opinion that the Protestant people of the Palatinate were subjected to no small prejudice and distress by the oppressive measures of John William.

Further, Dr. Homes, in the article above noted, objects that the claim of the Palatines that the cruelties of the French had driven them from their country, is not to be credited, because the ruthless campaign by which Louis desolated the Palatinate was in 1688, twenty years before the exodus began. Were this the only campaign in which the French soldiers had ridden rough-shod over the fields and villages of the Palatinate, the objection certainly would hold good. Twenty years surely were many enough to smooth out the roughnesses so caused and to reclaim the ravaged land. But, while that campaign was undoubtedly the severest under which that devoted land suffered, yet others followed. Again and again, through the years of the war of the Grand Alliance, the armies of Louis swept through the country, and, although not staying to wreak deliberate and wide-spread ruin, yet left want and suffering on their trail. A like ill fortune fell upon the principality with the

opening of the War of the Succession, culminating in the deliberate invasion of Villars in 1707 to emulate the rapine of Montclas and Melac. It is strange that Dr. Homes should have overlooked these facts. They import an amount of suffering entailed upon the poor people of the Palatinate not easy of estimation, and certainly both great and immediate enough to justify their statement, that they left their country in consequence of the cruelties of the French. And it is very significant that the first outward movement was immediately subsequent on the invasion of Villars in 1707. That was the last burden which, added to all the loss and suffering of the past, set on foot the emigrating thousands ; first to Holland, then to England, and finally across the sea.

Still another item of disproof of the judgment that this emigration was solely due to the agents of the American Proprietaries is found in the fact, that they had made no provision for the care and direction of the emigrants, either in transit or after reaching America. The only apparent exception to this statement is the existence of a committee

of assistance at Rotterdam, through whose offices the Palatines were helped *en route*, and so speedily as possible shipped to England. But there is no evidence that this committee was instituted by agents of the Proprietaries, and it may have had its origin from the authorities of Holland, in the same manner as it became a necessity for the English authorities to provide in some way for this great body of strangers. This seems the most reasonable supposition, for had there been anything like a concerted movement of the Proprietaries or Patentees in America to promote emigration to their lands, it seems impossible that they could have failed to provide some measures by which the scheme could be effected. Of this, however, there was absolutely nothing. The agents, if any such there were, disappear at once that the migration, supposed to have been excited by them, is begun. The thousands flocking from the Palatinate are thrown naked upon England, to be cared for and directed at the expense of the government and of public charity. It was impossible for agents to lay their calculation for such an issue as is found in the unparalleled benevolence of the

British people towards these poor Palatines. We will have to conclude, that, while sundry so-called agents may have found access to the Palatinate, they really represented no business enterprise and undertook none such ; and that the people, learning of the avenue of escape from their accumulated wrongs, needed for their emigration no other inducement.





CHAPTER III.

THE EXODUS.

THE first formal note of the emigration, as already begun, is found in a report of the British Lords of Trade.* No record exists of the starting of the people from their homes upon the Rhine, as of the inception of a great enterprise. Indeed, this were impossible. With whatever of undertone of concert of action the movement was set on foot, its beginnings in the Palatinate had to be in quietness and stealth. The Elector Palatine was of a mind to lose none of his subjects, and made vigorous protests against their emigration. Among other deterrents he published an edict threatening death to all who should attempt to emigrate from his dominions. So, of necessity, the departure of the emigrants,

* *Dec. Hist. of N. Y.*, iii., 327.

if not "by night," was unheralded. In fact for years there had been a steady though small stream of the afflicted people seeking quieter countries. Northern Germany and Holland had received thousands of them. And now that the thoughts of the refugees were turned westward, they found countrymen in the cities of Holland to help them on their journey.

It is probable that we should cite, as the first contingent from the Palatinate to America, a small band which, after much toil and disaster, found settlement in New Jersey. There is but small record of this company, and how much of their story is due to local tradition can hardly be decided.* The tale is of a company of Lutherans who, in 1705, fled from persecution at Wolfenbuttel and Halberstadt. They went into Holland, and thence, in 1707, embarked for New York. By stress of storm their vessel was driven to the south, and after tedious delays found harbor at Philadelphia. Being still determined to go to New York, the little company set out to reach that city overland, and had nearly accomplished their journey

* *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, x., 376. *Story of an Old Farm*, by Mellick. Introd.

when, attracted by the beauty and fertility of the region they were traversing, they resolved to go no farther. They had reached the edge of the Schooley's Mountain range, and looking off upon the land, now in the borders of Morris County, they decided that no more desirable place of habitation could be found. So there they settled. Happily for them, neither the crown nor the provincial government seems to have been concerned about them. They were left unmolested to build their homes and beget a posterity still visible in many well-known families of that region.

The more formal pioneers of the emigrating movement were a company of forty-one who came to London in the spring of 1708, and applied to the Board of Trade to be sent to America. The Report, alluded to above, has reference to this application, and bears date of April 28, 1708. It takes the form of a Memorial to the Queen, in which the Lords comment on a Petition from the Rev. Joshua Kockerthal, an Evangelical minister, on behalf of himself and other

“poor Lutherans, come hither from the Lower Palatinate, praying to be transferred to some of your Majesty's

plantations in America ; in number 41, viz : 10 men, 10 women, and 21 children ; in the utmost want, being reduced to this miserable condition by the ravages committed by the French when they lost all they had."

The Board notes the testimonials of good character brought by the company, and on the question of their location sets aside the West Indies, on account of the hot climate, and proposes "to settle them on Hudson's River, where they can be made useful in the production of Naval Stores and as a Frontier against the French and Indians." It is further recommended that "they be transported in the Man-of-War and Transport ship to go with Lord Lovelace," who had been recently appointed to the governorship of New York ; that they "should be supplied here [London] with necessary tools for agriculture, and must be supported for awhile by the Queen's bounty, or by the Province, and before departure should be made Denizens of this Kingdom." It is further intimated that, if the Queen would confirm the provincial act annulling certain extravagant patents granted by Governor Fletcher, she would be able to grant the usual number of acres to these poor Palatines. The

suggestions of the Lords of Trade were approved by the Queen in Council, and order was taken on 10 May, 1708, for the naturalization of the Palatines and sending them to New York with Lord Lovelace.

Meanwhile, before this company was embarked, another petition from Kockerthal represents that fourteen others had joined him and his company,* three of whom were from Holstein. He describes this company as "in a Deplorable Condition, having suffered under the Calamity which hap'ned last year in the Palatinat by the invasion of the French," and prays that they may receive from the Queen the same kind treatment given to the first company, and be with them sent to America. This petition, which bears date of June, 1708, was granted by the Queen, and the fourteen Palatines were made denizens of the kingdom.

In this petition Kockerthal also asks, in view of his clerical profession, that he be given a "Sallary, inasmuch as he cannot hope for a competent subsistence in America." To this no attention is paid by the authorities, and, on the 7th July, Kockerthal addresses another

* *Colonial Hist. of N. Y.*, v., 44.

petition,* again asking for a salary and for £20 towards an outfit. To this the Lords of Trade advise the Queen, that no precedent exists for granting stipends to foreign clergymen in the colonies—only that the French minister in New York receives annually £20 or £30, “ but by what order we do not find.” The Board, however, in consideration that Kockerthal is poor, suggests that the sum desired for outfit be granted to him, and as his people are poor, he be given a glebe of 500 acres, with liberty to sell some of it for his immediate maintenance after reaching America.

These two companies were undoubtedly one in the scheme of emigration ; for some cause becoming separated on the way to England, whence, being reunited, they went together across the sea. It is interesting to note that in the company were thirteen families and two unmarried men. All the names, even of the children—some of which names are still worthily represented by their descendants†—are on record. All were Lutherans in religion ; and as to occupations, the majority of the men

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 62. *Doc. Hist.* iii., 328.

† See Note I.

were farmers, one was a clergyman (Kockerthal), one a weaver, one a stocking-maker, one a blacksmith, one a carpenter, and one a clerk. The composition of the little emigration has the aspect of an enterprise well planned for the settling of a new community in strange scenes. It would seem also that some concert must have existed between this company and their countrymen left behind. They went out as a band of pioneers, or prospectors, to see what might be the promise of other lords and a new land ; and it is altogether probable that their report sent home of the kind treatment received by them from the English authorities, will go far to account for the large influx of the Palatines to England in the following year. This probability becomes almost a certainty from the fact—of which only an incidental note is found in the epitaph on Kockerthal's tomb-stone—that, having settled this first company in America, he returned at once to England, and came out again with the large emigration of 1710, which accompanied Gov. Hunter. Of this larger emigration it will fall to speak presently ; but for the moment it will be more convenient to trace the fortunes of this first

company, which were quite distinct from those of their following countrymen.

Kockerthal and his companions sailed with Lord Lovelace in the autumn of 1708, arrived in New York in the following winter, and so soon as possible were settled in the district then known as Quassaick Creek and Thanks-kamir.* This district is part of the territory of the present city of Newburgh, the name of which may be a monument of this settlement by the Palatines, whose prince was of the House of Neuburg. The region round about on the west side of the Hudson had been purchased from the Indians by Gov. Dongan in 1684. In 1694 it had been conveyed by patent to Capt. John Evans by Gov. Fletcher, but four years later this patent, together with others in the province, was annulled by the legislative Council of New York. The lands were afterwards parcelled out in smaller grants, the first of which, after much delay, was given in 1719 to the Palatines, under the name of the German Patent. This patent covered 2190 acres, which lay along the Quassaick, or Quassey, now called Chambers Creek, touching the

* Ruttenber's *Hist. of Orange Co.*, p. 245.

Hudson and stretching up the side of the steep hills.

Shortly after their arrival, Lord Lovelace, who had been especially charged with their care and oversight, died in New York, and the Palatines very soon began to suffer want. In the fall of 1709 they represent, by petition to Lt. Gov. Ingoldsby, that the promised sustenance had not been given to them,* and appeal to the compassion of the Governor and Council. When this petition came before the Council, it was there stated that nineteen of the Palatines had abandoned their Lutheran faith and had become Pietists; and the Council ordered that only the rest should be supported. An inquiring committee, however, soon reported that no such religious troubles existed and that the entire community were entitled to the promised subsistence. Order was thereupon taken to "victuall" all, and to distribute "clothes, tools, and other necessities—such as building materials, iron and steel, books, paper and medicines, horses, cows and pigs." The trouble for the provincial authorities in the matter was, that they had entered into no

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 329.

obligations to subsist these people, who were stipendiaries of the home government and the Crown. Nor was the Council willing to saddle their support upon the treasury of the province. At the same time they were unwilling that the poor people should perish almost before their very eyes. They intimated their willingness to afford subsistence, if any "Gentlemen can be found" to guarantee repayment by the government. The Palatines—to whom arrears are still in default—report to the Council, in October, 1709, that they have found such security in the persons of Col. Nicholas Bayard and Octavius Conradus, and pray for the much needed relief. The language of their petition, which is signed by John Conrad Codweis, is quaint and naive enough to deserve an extract. It presents "most humble prayers to your Honours' Generosity, to let descend Your tender Commiseration towards the precarious and miserable circumstances of this poor people, wherein they certainly shall perish this Winter, if not speedily supplied, and thus render all past outlay of the Government useless." This touching plea wins the compassionate action of the Council, which orders

the desired aid, only stipulating that the Palatines themselves shall repay the advance, "if England refuses, in a year!" Within the year Gov. Hunter arrived in New York, with the first and only advance of the British government for the subsistence of the Palatines in this country, and it may be taken for granted that the Council, who allowed to escape few opportunities for harassing that long-suffering "Brigadeer," lost no time in presenting their bill.

In the year 1713 the Governor directed the Surveyor-General * to lay out for the Palatines the land which, six years after, was constituted the German Patent, specifying that tracts should be allotted "for each of them his quantity distinctly." Forty acres were to be reserved for highways and five hundred for a Glebe, and the whole was to be known and called "The Palatine Parish by Quassaick."

At this time Kockerthal, who had returned from England with Hunter and the immigration of 1710, was already established at Quassaick. He probably brought with him to Quassaick a small number of that large com-

* Ruttenber, p. 248.

pany, though the great majority were settled at the two Camps, fifty miles farther up the river. Over the people in all the Hudson settlements Kockerthal exercised very considerable authority, partly on account of his ministerial office, but more largely because of the native strength of his character. He was evidently a shrewd man, far-seeing and careful, able on a wider field, if such had been given to him, to be a noted leader of men. His influence with his countrymen in America was supreme. They looked up to him with no little reverence, and the provincial authorities had often to appeal to his influence in the entanglements, which almost immediately began in the settlements of East and West Camp. Probably having his longer residence at Quassaick, he took the pastoral care, not only of the people in that place, but also of those in the settlements above. Himself a Lutheran, he seems to have maintained the most harmonious relations with that portion of the people who were of the Reformed faith, among whom labored a certain John Fred. Hager, one of the emigration, who afterwards carried his missionary efforts into the Mohawk and Scho-

harie valleys, and to Pennsylvania. Kockerthal organized a Lutheran church at the Camp on the west bank of the Hudson, and probably had some part in the similar organization on the opposite side of the river. Both churches are still existent and among the dozen oldest ecclesiastical organizations on the continent. Kockerthal died in 1719 at West Camp and was there buried. His grave, until recently, was marked by a stone, bearing a quaint inscription in German, of which the following is an English translation : *

“ Know, wanderer, under this stone rests, beside his Sybilla Charlotte, a right wanderer, the Joshua of the High Dutch in North America, the pure Lutheran preacher of them on the East and West sides of the Hudson River. His first arrival was with Lord Lovelace in 1707-8, the 1st January. His second with Col. Hunter, 1710, the 14 June. His voyage back to England was prevented [lit., interrupted] by the voyage of his soul to Heaven on St. John’s Day, 1719.

“ Do you wish to know more? Seek in Melancthon’s fatherland, who was Kockerthal, who Herschias, who Winchenbach?

“ B. Berkenmayer, S. Huestin, L. Brevoort, 1742.”

The names Herschias and Winchenbach

* *Mag. of Am. History*, 1871, p. 15, article by Rev. J. B. Thompson, D.D.

are said by local tradition to be those of Kockerthal's sons-in-law. The last three names are probably, as Dr. Thompson suggests, those of the men who, twenty-three years after the death of Kockerthal, erected the stone. Within the year just past this stone was removed from the grave and placed as a mural tablet in the interior of the church of West Camp.

After the death of Kockerthal the story of the Quassaick Parish presents but few notes of interest, and the most of these have regard to the affairs of the church. From that time the parish had no pastor of its own, but was ministered to on semi-annual, or annual visits by the Lutheran clergyman of New York, who for some years was to receive the profits of the Glebe. The members at Quassaick were received into the New York church, to which church they loaned the bell given to them by Queen Anne, to be returned whenever the people at Quassaick should be able to erect a house of worship. That house was afterwards built, in 1733, and was still standing until within the memory of some of the oldest citizens, and known by them as "the Glebe School House." It is pleasant to know that the bell

was returned, and also to note the hint suggested of the long-headedness of Kockerthal, who, before leading his first colony over the sea, sought and obtained from the royal favor this bell, which was to wait more than twenty years for its destined place.

What may have been the after fortune of the bell is not recorded, but for the most of the Palatines at Quassaick it soon ceased to utter its Sabbath summons. The majority of the people were not satisfied with their location. They found the stony hillsides more unyielding of produce than they had hoped, and listened with envious ears to the tale of more fertile farms to be had in Pennsylvania, whither many of the settlers at the Camps and Schoharie had migrated. A large proportion of them, after not long debate, sold their farms upon the Quassaick, and departed to join their compatriots in the valleys of the Swatara and Tulpehocken. The sale of these farms brought many of them, indeed the most of them, into the possession of others than Palatines, who were called by the original settlers, "Dutch and English new-comers." With these began the influx of immigrants of other stocks, an in-

coming promoted by Governor Colden, whose son Alexander had large holdings in the neighborhood, with the result that in a short time the few remaining Palatines were very largely outnumbered by the Dutch, Scotch, and English. It was but a natural issue that the direction of vicinage and church affairs should soon pass from the hands of the Palatines. Men of English blood were chosen in Parish Meeting as Trustees of the Glebe and Church, and steps were at once taken to bring the Church into connection with the Church of England. This took place in 1743 and thereupon the "Palatine Parish by Quassaick" ceased to exist, though it was not until 1751 that the Glebe was finally turned over by Letters-Patent to the Church of England.

And this must end our story of the Newburgh Palatines, the majority of whom had sought other and distant homes. But they left behind them a sturdy stock who, though soon absorbed into the general life of the non-Palatine community, have left monuments of their worth. Themselves and their descendants—not a few of whom have to-day, in the fair city of Newburgh, names on the roll of

Kockerthal's companions—were "not a whit behind" the men of other stock in the expression of solidity of character, intellectual alertness, love of freedom, and moral worth,—equal factors in building up the civil and religious institutions of their city and State.

We turn now to the far more extensive migration which, in the year after the departure of Kockerthal and his first company from the country of the Rhine, followed them to England. Of this movement, as of its precursor, no records are extant, or accessible, detailing its organization and departure from the Palatinate. Among the influences helping the decision to emigrate at that time, Conrad Weiser—himself one of the emigrants and twelve years of age at the time—in an autobiography written in his old age instances the severities of the winter of 1708-9. "Birds perished on the wing, beasts in their lairs, and mortals fell dead in the way."*

The first mention of the exodus as begun is in the recorded presence of the Palatines in London in surprising numbers, to the no small astonishment of the English people and the

* *Life of Conrad Weiser.*

equal perplexity and embarrassment of the authorities. The migration was evidently a concerted one at home, with lines stretching into all parts of the principality. The impression made by it at Rotterdam and London was such as would be caused by the irruption of an entire tribe. Weiser has a fine bit of fervid description. "A migrating epidemic seized on the stricken people, and, as a wave, thirty thousand Germans washed along the shores of England. Israel was not more astounded at the armored carcasses of the Egyptians lying by the banks of the Red Sea, than were the people of England at this immense slide of humanity."

Both for charity's sake and in their own defence, the people of Rotterdam speeded them over the channel into England and to London, where their swarming numbers put to the proof, not only the ingenuity of the government to devise their future destination, but also its ability to provide for their pressing and immediate needs.* They began to arrive in London in May of 1709, and by the end of June their numbers amounted to five thousand.

* *Trans. Alb. Ins.*, 1871, p. 106.

Before August was passed this number was nearly doubled, while thirteen thousand is set as the aggregate by the end of October. In the London of to-day such an influx would be little more than a drop in the bucket ; and yet, even to-day, were a horde of thirteen thousand men, women, and children to suddenly throng its streets, most of them without a penny to pay for food or lodging, many of them in rags and tatters, there might be furnished something of perplexity in finding a solution to the problem of their immediate care. In the London of two hundred years ago the facilities for caring for the traveller and the stranger were of the crudest and most limited description. Those who could pay their way must put up with many discomforts in the inns, which were few and of small capacity. The city was entirely unprovided with ready means to meet the demands thus suddenly made by the flocking Palatines, who, pouring in such crowds upon London, threw themselves upon the generosity of the English government and people. They seemed to say : "Here we are. What are you going to do for us ? What are you going to do with us ?"

It is difficult to imagine the state of perplexity which at the first must have filled the official mind. In the past it had not been accustomed to deal with such problems, or to concern itself about the poverty or destruction of the poor. But this problem was so great and the appeal of the Palatines so strident, that a hearing ear and active hand were compelled. The impression made upon all the English was profound, and the interest in this great company of refugees was felt, far beyond the limits of the capital, in many parts of the kingdom. Beyond all cavil, whatever may have been the neglect and aversion in a following year, the immediate response of the English court and people to this appeal, was nobly generous, to such extent that nothing else like it can be cited from the history of centuries before our own. No doubt one strong motive with the authorities was found in the absolute necessity of the case. They could not have these Palatines perish by starvation in their streets. Something must be done to keep life in them while in London, and something also to rid London of their burden. But far more than this, which the closest self-interest would

demand, the appeal seems to have touched the chord of sympathy in the English heart in both city and country. Queen Anne, who, though lacking in many of the qualities needful, not only for a monarch, but also for a strong character, was of tender heart, became greatly interested and took the poor people under her special care. This care aided them effectively at the first, and would have protected them against some of the oppressions of the near future, had she possessed tenacity of purpose and strength of will to resist squabbling politicians.

The immediate needs of the people were met in a way which for that day must be accounted magnificent. The Queen allowed ninepence each per day for present subsistence, and lodgings were provided in various parts of London. One thousand tents, taken from the army stores and pitched on the Surrey side of the Thames, sheltered the greater number. Fourteen hundred were lodged for four months in the warehouses of Sir Charles Cox. Many occupied barns until they were needed for the crops. A smaller number found lodgment in empty dwellings, while the

few among them with means obtained quarters at the inns. In some instances buildings were put up for them, of which a monument still remains in a hamlet at the west of London, where four buildings, yet called "the Palatine Houses," were erected for these people by the Parish of Newington. Much of this generous provision was due to the kindly interest of the Queen, who not only gave of her own purse, and incited her government to similar action, but issued briefs calling for collections throughout the kingdom. It is estimated that the sums, expended by the government and contributed by the people of England for the support and final establishment of the Palatines in Ireland and America, aggregated the enormous amount of £135,000.*

Of course, the question of the future disposition of these people was as urgent as their immediate subsistence. Mortimer says that there was no settled plan (among the Palatines) for their settlement anywhere. Burnet seems to agree with him, and represents that the people in the Palatinate were "so ravished"

* *Trans. Alb. Ins.*, 1871, p. 107. Burnet, iv., 63. Mortimer, iii., 233.

by the report of what kindness had been shown to Kockerthal and his companions in London, that these thousands pressed thither to throw themselves in like manner on the bounty of the Queen. The intimations, however, are numerous in the colonial records that the emigration was with the intention of reaching America at last. To be sent thither was the first request of Kockerthal, and the first request also of this larger body of emigrants. America evidently was to them the land of promise, where only their exodus could find its object. True, in their destitution of all means towards reaching their hope, they had to put themselves on the generous consideration of the English government,—and were compelled also to submit themselves to its discretion and direction. Yet a settlement in America was the constant object of their desire. The long delay of months in London acted upon some of them as a discouragement, and they were quite ready to turn their steps towards other locations. Not a few of the men enlisted in the British army, and perhaps a few hundreds, wandering singly—or in small companies—
6

through the rural parts of England, found permanent homes in its scattered towns and villages. Some also remained in London, going into domestic service or finding engagements in their special handicrafts. Some were sent by the authorities back to their native country, on account of their religious faith.* It was stated that about one tenth of the emigrants were Roman Catholics, whose presence among their Protestant countrymen can be easily explained by the natural desire for either adventure or improvement of condition. The government would not send men of their faith into the colonies, neither was it willing to permit their prolonged residence in England. In consequence of this disposition and the pressure thereby brought to bear upon these Romanists, many of them became Protestants, while those who were tenacious of their faith were returned under government passports to the Palatinate.

But, though the reduction in numbers by all these means was considerable, the great mass still remained to tax the ingenuity of the authorities. The emphatic recognition of the

* Luttrell's *Diary*, vi., 473, 489.

grave character of the situation is well expressed by the high rank of those who were at first charged with the care of these people. The receipt and distribution of money for their relief, and the duty of considering and suggesting plans for their disposal, were put into the hands of a committee, appointed by the Queen, on which were persons of so exalted station as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord High Chancellor.

The first suggestion was to settle the people in various parts of England as, if feasible, attended by the least expense. By parcelling them out in small companies among the hundreds of the English counties, the entire volume could easily be absorbed into the community, and in time would add to the national wealth. The nature of the Parish Laws, however, was such as to present so many obstacles to the scheme, that it was decided to be impracticable.

It was also proposed to settle them in a body in the New Forest of Hampshire, where* lands could be parcelled out to them by shares or lots from the royal demesnes. This also

* Mortimer's *England*, iii., 233.

proved only a futile suggestion. To establish a foreign community in the heart of England was regarded as dangerous to the welfare of the nation. Doubtless also the tenacity with which the great majority of the Palatines held to their desire of transportation to America, went far to discourage all attempts to make for them an English domicile. Luttrell * states that the merchants of Bedford and Barnstaple, who were engaged in the New Foundland fisheries, designed employing five hundred of them in their service. This may have been done,—and it is altogether probable that in such ways many of the people were provided for. Indeed, some disposition of the kind, the employment on land and sea in various trades, must have taken place with regard to a very considerable number. Otherwise we cannot account for the disparity between the numbers reported in London in October of 1709, and the aggregate of the several recorded shipments of them out of England. These amount to the sum of seven thousand and five hundred persons. This aggregate, in case the statement is correct

* *Diary*, vi., 496.

that the number coming into England was thirteen thousand, would leave over five thousand to be otherwise accounted for. But of this there is no record, and their final disposition must be set down to the score of various employments within the kingdom, and unrecorded dispersions into many parts of the country.

There were three large shipments of the people, of which record is made. The first was to Ireland, of which only brief account need be here made. To the Commissioners, pondering over the problem of the proper disposition of the Palatines, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland represented that land and occupation for a large number of them could be found in his government. The proposition, being approved by the Commissioners and the Queen, was laid before Parliament, which voted £24,000 for the transportation of the company sent thither and their immediate subsistence upon arrival.* Five hundred families, comprising thirty-eight hundred souls were at once sent over. Luttrell writes, under

* Mort. Eng., iii., 233.

Luttrell's *Diary*, vi., 474.

Larned's *Hist. for Ready Reference*, iv., 2412.

date of 9th of August, 1709, "An abundance of them are gone hence in waggons for Chester, to embark for Ireland." They were settled in Munster, where, being provided with land, they soon made for themselves homes and became a sturdy stock, useful and influential in the country.* The English traveller, Farrar, writes of them, early in the present century: "They [their descendants] have left off sauer-kraut and taken up potatoes, tho still preserving their own language. . . . Their superstitions still savor the banks of the Rhine, and in their dealing they are upright and honorable." Kohl, a German traveller, in 1840, writes of them that "they had not lost their home character for probity and honor, and are much wealthier than their neighbors."

The second large shipment of the Palatines was to the Carolinas. They sailed from England in the early autumn of 1709. The expedition was at the suggestion of two natives of Berne, one a nobleman named Christopher de Graffenried, and the other Lewis Michell, a merchant. Of the two, De Graffenried was

* *Penn. Hist. Mag.*, x., 381.

the controlling spirit in their associated affairs, and finally, for some reason which does not appear, seems to have engrossed them all, as in the subsequent story he alone appears to be considered as of responsibility and authority. Michell, at this time a resident in London, had spent years in America, having been sent thither by the Canton of Berne to look for a location for a colony. The two associates had bought of the Carolina Proprietaries ten thousand acres of land between the Neuse and Cape Fear rivers, paying for them twenty shillings sterling for each one hundred acres, and at a yearly rental of six pence per one hundred acres.* They had also agreed with the authorities that the Surveyor General should lay out for them in addition to this tract one hundred thousand acres more, to be held for them twelve years, probably with an option to assume the ownership thereof according as the success or failure of the colonizing scheme might dictate. It is noted that the title to these lands was vested in De Graffenreid alone, and because of this great estate, together with his semi-lordship over the colon-

* Hawks's *N. Carolina*, ii., 86.

ists, he received the title of Landgrave. In many of the colonial references he is called Baron.

Williamson * writes : "This company, having secured the lands, wished to make them productive by settling them with tenants, and the poor Palatines presented themselves as an object of speculation." To this language Hawks makes strenuous exception, as quite careless and also unworthy of the circumstances. Such objection were certainly valid if it were to be considered as reflecting upon the Palatines and the worthiness of their cause. But this reflection is not necessarily involved, and so far as De Graffenried's subsequent conduct can declare his motive at the beginning of the enterprise, the language can hardly be declared unjust as applied to him. It would appear that the two associates, having gotten possession of the land for the projected colony, reported thereon to the cantonal authorities of Berne, by whom Michell had been sent on his prospecting tour. For, when they enter into the story of the Palatines, they are already accompanied in London by a considerable num-

* *History of N. Carolina*, i., 183.

ber of Swiss, who may be supposed to have been attracted to their enterprise by their report. Possibly some of these Swiss, if not all, may have been sent by the government of Berne, in pursuance of the plan which had suggested sending an agent to America. However that may be, the beginnings of the Swiss colony were with De Graffenried and Michell in London in the summer of 1709, at the time when the Queen and Council, the Lords of Trade and the Parliament were trying to solve the problem of the Palatines. Of the volume of this Swiss contingent no exact record is preserved. One account sets it at fifteen hundred, but this can hardly be considered as correct. Probably their number was less than half so great ; at all events, sufficiently small not to dominate the Palatine element in the new settlement ; for whatever their number, that settlement was constantly known as Palatine, so spoken of by De Graffenried and by the Carolina authorities. It is safe to suppose that the associates looked upon this Swiss emigration as not large enough for the needs and success of their enterprise. Hence they were quick to see the advantage presented by the

Palatines seeking a home and the authorities seeking relief from the burden of their support. They soon approached the Commissioners with propositions to take some of this "poor people" to their new plantation in Carolina. Luttrell* records, under date of 6 Oct. 1709, that "the Commissioners about the poor Palatines had resolved to send forthwith 600 to Carolina," Another hundred should be added to this as the number of the Palatines who came to this country with De Graffenried.

The Articles of Agreement between "the Commissioners and Trustees under the Queen's bounty for the subsistence and settlement of the German Palatines," and the two associates, make a very interesting document, as illustrating not only the destitute condition of that people, but the large spirit of generosity and care toward them, which at first possessed the English mind. Some of its expressions and provisions should be here quoted.† It recites the purchase of land by De Graffenried and Michell, "now waste and good for settlement," and says that the Commissioners

* *Diary*, vi., 496.

† Hawks's *N. Carolina*, ii., 54.

"thought fit to dispose of, for this purpose, six hundred persons of the said Palatines, which may be ninety-two families more or less—they have laid out and disposed of to each of the said six hundred poor Palatines the sum of twenty shillings in clothes—and likewise paid to said De Graffenried and Michell the sum of five pd. ten sh. for each, for transportation to North Carolina and comfortable support there."

The agents are "within two days to embark them in two ships, for North Carolina, and provide for them on the way." After arrival in the new settlement the agents are "within three months to have surveyed two hundred and fifty acres for each family, to be divided to each by lot, to be contiguous for the sake of society and of religion." This land was to be given to them in fee, to hold free of rent for five years, and afterwards at a rental of two pence per acre.

During the first year the partners were to supply to the "said poor Palatines sufficient quantities of grain and other provisions and necessaries for their comfortable support and relief,"—such outlay to be repaid by the Palatines at the end of three years. Also, "within four months" they were to "provide to each family two cows, two calves, two sows with their last

litter, two ewe sheep and two lambs, with a male of each of said kind of cattle to propagate and increase." This is to be repaid by the Palatines at the end of seven years. In addition the partners, "immediately after the partition of the land, shall give and dispose of *gratis* a sufficient quantity of tools for working the ground and building houses." It is also directed that "the conveyances of land shall be registered," and that "beyond what stipulations are herein contained" De Graffenried and Michell, their heirs and assigns, shall have no further claim against the settlers. Then, as making still more positive the benevolent purposes of the Commissioners, it is further enjoined that "these articles are to be construed in the most favorable sense for the ease, comfort, and advantage of the said poor Palatines, and in cases of difficulty the Governor of North Carolina shall decide in conformity with this agreement and contract."

Evidently, thus far in their migration, the poor people had fallen into very kindly hands, and one can hardly imagine more favorable disposition towards a band of destitute emigrants. To the extent that a formal agreement

could effect, the establishment of this colony was under most auspicious conditions. These, however, were not all fulfilled.

The voyage across the Atlantic, begun early in October and completed late in December, 1709, was remarkably quick for that day of ocean travel. The expedition ascended the Neuse River to the junction of the Trent, and there landing began their first settlement, to which they gave the name of New Berne, in memory of the native city of the two Swiss partners. Here and in the neighboring country, chiefly on the borders of the streams, the people settled down, cleared portions of the land and built their humble homes, confident of present safe harborage at last and hopeful of a prosperous future. Not all things, however, were consonant with this hope.

The partners—or, more properly speaking, De Graffenried, for we hear no more of Michell in the affair—proved unfaithful to the contract. The particulars are but meagre, and it may be that the Baron provided for the immediate necessities of the people, but it is certain that he never fulfilled the agreement to allot lands to them in fee. The

Minutes of the Council of North Carolina,* under date of 6th Nov. 1714, contain a petition from the Palatines, setting forth that "they were disappointed of their lands," and praying the Council that each family, "now greatly impoverished by the Indian War," might be allowed to take up four hundred acres, on two years' payment. This petition was favorably received by the Council and the case represented to the Proprietaries, with recommendation that the prayer be granted. We may suppose, with no injustice to De Graffenried, that he at no time intended to give titles to the Palatines. By what way he procured the sole title to the entire tract as vested in himself, to the exclusion of his partner, Michell, does not appear. But the fact that it was so, and that Michell soon disappears from the enterprise, as tho crowded out of participation, together with the failure to give the promised titles to the Palatines, argue ambitious schemes on the part of De Graffenried, similar to those entertained by other great landholders in the colonies, to found a Barony in North Carolina. To this

* Hawks, ii., 87.

end he would refrain from conveying any of the land to other possession than his own, and keep the entire settlement as tenants on his Manor. However diverse this is from his own agreements, it does not seem too severe a judgment on the facts in hand. On one occasion he called himself the "King of the Palatines"—perhaps only to be regarded as a clever ruse to save himself out of the murderous hands of the Indians. Yet, taken in connection with the other facts just noted, the assumption of that title would indicate a habit of thought more permanent than a moment of peril.

The peril, which moved him to assume a royal style, proved the means of his early separation from the Palatines and America. It came upon him suddenly, while exploring the lands up the Neuse River, which the Indians regarded as their own and not to be encroached upon by the whites. De Graffenreid was accompanied on this expedition by a negro servant, and by John Lawson, who had recently been made Surveyor General of North Carolina.* The Indian tribes

* Williamson's *N. Car.*, i., 188.

along the coast had already been decimated by disease, rum and conflicts with the English, and were able to offer no further opposition to the advance of the settlements. But the Tuscaroras, who had had little contact with the whites, still abode in their strength. Lawson was already familiar to them and obnoxious. He had not long since surveyed two larger tracts, which to the Indians seemed to threaten their own title, and excited their anger against him. For this reason they laid in wait and captured Lawson and his companions, when they had gone some distance up the Neuse. The prisoners were dragged before the Indian Council and condemned to death. It was then that De Graffenried saved his life by claiming a royal rank, assuring the Indians that he was not English and had naught to do with the encroachments of the English, but was the King of the Palatines, a peaceful folk, who had recently come to the country. The assumed dignity imposed upon the Indians, who spared his life. But it was not a bar to the slaughter of his companions. They killed both Lawson and the negro, with the usual refinements of Indian

executions, and after five days suffered De Graffenried to depart. He is said during these days to have formed a treaty with the Indians for the protection of the Palatines, who were not disturbed on the occasion of the massacre at Bath. Some of the terms of the treaty bind the contracting parties "to show friendship towards each other." "No land is to be taken up by the Baron without the consent of the Indians." In case of war between the English and the Indians, the Palatines were to remain neutral. In regard to this last provision, I note that a petition of the Palatines, of somewhat later date, alleges that they "were called out to defend the country, by orders from Edenton (*i. e.*, the Governor), while their Trustee was a prisoner among the Indians."

And so the Baron saved himself alive and returned to his city of New Berne. But the experience seems to have completely disgusted him with America and all schemes of colonization. Shortly thereafter he departed for Virginia or Switzerland, never to come back again to his Palatine kingdom. What he did with his land-title is by no means clear. Wil-

liamson says that he mortgaged his whole tract to Thomas Pollock for £800. This is denied by Hawks. Another and unknown writer,* says that he *sold* his estate to Pollock for £800, and moved to Virginia, to the settlement of Germans established by Governor Spotswood at Germanna. It is very probable that the transaction with Pollock was a sale, but the removal of De Graffenried to Virginia seems to be predicated only on the presence there, fifty years after, of a Metcalf De Graffenried, probably a grandson of the Baron. At all events, the Swiss leader disappears from the Palatine affairs.

After his departure, the people, as Williamson writes,

"being industrious and living in a country where land was plenty and cheap, increased in number and acquired property. After many years, upon their petition to the king, they were in some measure indemnified by a grant of land of ten thousand acres, free from quit-rents for ten years." †

The treaty of the Baron with the Indians did not effectually protect the settlement which, two years afterwards, suffered a loss by massacre of one hundred and twelve.‡ In con-

* *Virginia Historical Coll.* New Series, v., 134, 135.

† v., 185.

‡ Martin's *Hist. of N. Car.*, i., 245.

sequence of this severe experience many of the people are said to have removed to the less exposed settlement in Virginia, where many of their countrymen had already found a home. But by far the greater number remained to build up the city and country of their first settlement, where many local marks and living names bear witness of their foundation.

Of the Palatine settlement in Virginia a few words should be written, and only a few words are possible, so indefinite are the notices of it on public record and in colonial history. The settlement was a special pet of Governor Spotswood, and was by him "founded on a horse-shoe peninsula of four hundred acres in the Rapidan. The little town was called Germanna, after the Germans sent over by Queen Anne and settled in that quarter."* This was a "settlement of German Protestants, recently effected under the Governor's auspices in a region hitherto unpeopled on the Rapidan."† This is about all that is recorded of the origin of the settlement at Germanna. But it is not difficult to supply some items by means of the argument of probabilities. Gov. Spotswood

* *Virg. Hist. Soc.*, i., pp. x., xiii.

† Campbell's *Hist. of Virginia*, p. 381.

was in London, and was appointed to his government of Virginia, at the time when the Palatines were awaiting in that city the disposition to be made for them by the government. The large companies to Ireland and North Carolina had already been forwarded, and matters were in train for shipping to New York with Governor Hunter some three thousand more. As Spotswood arrived in Virginia in June of 1710, the same month in which Hunter landed at New York, his departure and Hunter's from England must have been at about the same time: and although there is no record accessible of any contract or orders to him to care for a colony of Palatines, it seems to be certain that the Queen and the Commissioners did not fail to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by his departure to provide for still another portion of that people. How large the company was we have, of course, no means of telling, but they doubtless came over with Spotswood under the commendation and at the expense of the Queen. Spotswood himself was a man of generous nature, felt a sympathy for the suffering and destitute people, took constant interest in them and opened iron

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mines in the vicinity, both for their employment and his own profit. At the expiration of his official life he did not return to England, but retired to Germanna, among his beloved Palatines, and there built for himself a home of palatial proportions for the day and place, described by Spotswood's friend, Col. William Byrd * as "an enchanted castle." The locality, the fortunes of the first settlers and the character and hospitality of Spotswood, seem to have made this settlement of the Palatines the subject of much tradition, very little of which has gone upon record. Conway says, † "The Germans he [Spotswood] imported had a curious story, yet to be told ; and the town Germanna which he founded on the upper Rappahannock is the haunt of romance."

Some ten or fifteen years after Spotswood's retirement to Germanna, a company of Germans came into Virginia from Pennsylvania, doubtless Palatines from Berks County. They took up forty thousand acres in the lower Shenandoah valley, and founded the town of Strasburg, just over the mountain from Ger-

* Magill's *Hist. of Virginia*, p. 122.

† *Barons of the Potomac*, p. 18.

manna.* It is not only of this later immigration, but also of its predecessor, that we are to understand Cooke's words : "To this day, the Germans constitute an element of the population, and in some places the language is still spoken." In a spirit of high commendation of this stock, Prof. Henneman † (whose name would seem to indicate for himself a Palatine extraction) says :

" The German element seems at first sight not to have been so pronounced as might have been expected from their early contact. This is due in large measure to their natural conservatism and their contentment, clustering by themselves, to lead simple, thrifty, and comparatively secluded lives. In reality the geography of the State has been deeply affected, as the number of post-offices bearing German appellations testify. William Wirt, Judges Conrad and Sheffey ‡ and Governors Kemper, Koiner and Speece are among the prominent representatives of this race."

* Cooke's *Hist. of Virginia*, p. 323.

† *Virg. Hist. Coll.* New Series, xi., 30.

‡ Probably a derivative from the name Schoeffier.





CHAPTER IV.

THE EXPERIMENT.

WE return now to London, and the inception of that enterprise, which brought with Governor Hunter to New York nearly three thousand of the Palatines. This is the special immigration of these people, which is best known, and generally supposed to be referred to when any allusion is made to the coming of the Palatines to this country. The story of it is well worth exactness of narrative, by which sundry misunderstandings may be corrected.

While the Palatines were yet in London, and the authorities perplexed as to the best way in which to "dispose of" them, there came to England an important delegation from the Province of New York. The chief per-

sons in it were Peter Schuyler, the Mayor of Albany, and Col. Nicholson, one of Her Majesty's officers in America. Their mission was to urge by personal presence and speech, more urgently than was possible to any written appeal, the need of more generous measures on the part of the home government for the defence of the province against the French and their allied Indians. In the recent past the attacks of these foes had been very persistent and severe, while the colonists felt that the government of England had neglected to afford them all the support and aid which were their due. Col. Schuyler, by a happy and inventive thought, conceived the idea that the cause would be greatly furthered by taking to England some Indian chiefs and exhibiting them "in their barbaric costume,"* knowing that the movements of nations are often caused by the veriest trifles." He succeeded in inducing five Sachems of the Mohawks to go with him, and speedily found that he had contrived a very efficient scheme. "The arrival of the Sachems occasioned great observation throughout the

* Dunlap's *Hist. of New York*, i., 269.

See also Parkman, *Half Century of Conflict*, i., 141.

kingdom."* Crowds followed them in the streets, and small pictures of them were widely sold. "The court was in mourning for the Prince of Denmark, and the Indians were dressed in black underclothes, but a scarlet ingrain cloth mantle was thrown over all other garments." The English and the Indians alike were delighted with the exhibition. The Guards were reviewed for their entertainment, and they were taken to see the plays in the theatres. They were given an audience by the Queen, to whom they presented belts of wampum, and represented that, not only the English colonists, but also the friendly Indians, needed a more efficient defence against the French. "The reduction of Canada," they urged, "would be of great weight to our free hunting." It is interesting to note that, so far as promises would go, the scheme of Schuyler was very successful, and the "government engaged to send to New York a sufficient armament for the conquest of Canada," which was not done at that time.

It is possible that one or two of the five sachems may have been Mohican.† Hopkins

* Holmes's *Annals*, i., 503.

† *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatunnuk Indians*, p. 16.

Ruttenber's *Indian Tribes of Hudson's River*, p. 188.

relates that Mr. Sergeant, missionary to the Indians about Stockbridge, took to New Haven for education two lads, one of whom was named "Etowankaum, who, by the way, is Grandson by his mother to Etowankaum, chief of the River Indians [Mohicans], who was in England in Queen Ann's Reign."

One of the five died on the passage to England. Addison in No. 50 of the *Spectator*, and in No. 171 of the *Tatler*, refers to this embassy. The former reference is worth quoting as stating that Addison himself followed the *four* Indian chiefs about, to observe their manners and their effect upon the populace. He gives the names of two of them; Sa Ga Yean Qua Rash Tow, and "E Tow O Koam, King of the Rivers." The forms of these names would almost suggest that they were invented by Addison, but the likeness of the latter to Etowankaum makes them rather illustrative of the gentle essayist's struggles with an unknown tongue. Doubtless the former also was an honest effort to anglicize a genuine name, tho its proper form does not appear. Addison goes on to give portions of a writing by Sa Ga Yean Qua Rash Tow, left

by him at his lodging-place in London. It purports to be a comment on the sights of London and the manners of the people, but is evidently a pure invention of Addison himself, using the occasion to indulge his amiable satire upon the foibles of English life, and as a supposed Indian repartee for the abundant comments on themselves by the curious English mind.

Now, the connection between this Indian embassy and the Palatines is found in a circumstance, of which the government made small account, but which exercised a great and determining influence on their fortunes. It so happened that while these chiefs were in London they came in contact with the Palatines. "In their walks in the outskirts of London they saw the unenviable condition of the houseless and homeless Germans; and one of them, unsolicited and voluntarily, presented the Queen a tract of his land in Schoharie, N. Y., for the use and benefit of the distressed Germans."*

Weiser in his autobiography says, that "five chiefs of the Mohawk Indians saw and pitied the wretched condition of the people,

* Rupp's *Berks Co.*, p. 189, quoted from *Hallische Nachrichten*.

and offered to open to the perishing mass their hunting grounds beyond the sea."

This incident, notable and pathetic, seems at first thought quite improbable. We are not wont to think of the Indian as a pitiful benefactor. And yet, tho no other formal record of it is found, we may safely conclude that the story is substantially true. As will be seen, the English authorities, at the outset of the emigration to New York, had in mind that Schoharie was to be the location of the new settlement. We find also frequent references afterwards by the Palatines themselves to Schoharie as "given to the Queen, for them," and as a land already promised to them by the Queen, to which they should be allowed to depart from their desolate condition on the Hudson. It is difficult to account for the prepossession towards that exquisite valley on the frontier, except on the supposition that this gift by the Indian Sachem was actually made. Certainly, the larger portion of these three thousand emigrants left London with Schoharie as the synonym of their hope, and were not satisfied until they looked on its level meadows and lordly hills.

The Commissioners, having sent off to Ireland that large colony, noted in the last chapter, immediately set themselves to devising means for the disposition of the rest of the people. Two days after the contingent bound for Ireland had left London, the Board of Trade made to the Queen additional * suggestions, to the effect that the remainder of the Palatines, or so many of them as possible, be transported at government's cost to America, and be settled on Hudson's River ;—that they should be supported for one year and be supplied with all needed tools, and that the Queen should grant to every one, "without fee or reward, the usual and like number of acres as was granted, or directed to be granted, to every one of the Palatines † lately sent thither, and under like conditions." It is suggested tentatively that the people might find employment, alike advantageous to themselves and the government, in the production of Naval Stores. And then, with a startling buoyancy of imagination, the grave Lords of Trade, premising that the colony of Virginia produces many wild grapes, suggests that such of the Palatines

* *Col. Hist. of N. Y.*, v., 72.

† Kockerthal's first company.

as had been accustomed to viticulture might be sent to that plantation, so that through the wine to be made by them "a new and profitable trade might be introduced to the benefit of this Kingdom." This is but one of several tokens that the authorities, at the beginning of their ventures with the Palatines, had very high anticipations of great returns to be made from the enterprises undertaken. Of this prospective wine trade we hear no more ; but it is not at all improbable, that it occupied place in the plans under which, in the following winter, Spotswood took with him to Virginia the colony which settled at Germanna.

This action of the Board of Trade was taken in August, but a delay of several months occurred before any further steps were made towards the execution of its purpose. Meanwhile the Commissioners were interested in sending out the emigration to North Carolina under De Graffenried and Michell ; and the authorities were exercised about the choice of a new governor for the Province of New York, that office having recently become vacant through the death of Lord Lovelace, after a tenure of only a few months.

Their choice settled upon Col. Robert Hunter, a man eminently fitted for the position, and, as it proved, without a superior among all the royal governors in the American provinces. He was born in Scotland, of poor and humble parentage, and while yet a boy was apprenticed to an apothecary.* Of an exceedingly active mind, he must have applied himself to its improvement with considerable diligence, for, while not possessed of any special external educational advantages, he gives proof of an intellectual cultivation far above his station and in after life became the friend of Addison, Steele, Swift, and the other wits of that day. Of an ambitious nature, disdaining the obscure and plodding trade to which he had been bound, he ran away and enlisted as a common soldier. He was possessed of great personal beauty and fine soldierly bearing, qualities which at once attracted notice, commanding him to the favor of his superiors and resulting in his speedy promotion from the ranks to high commission. They also procured for him the attention and regard of Lady Hay, widow of Lord Hay, who

* Dunlap's *Hist. of N. Y.*, p. 270. Booth's *Hist. of N. Y.*, p. 286.

was the owner of a large fortune. The affection between the two soon ripened into marriage, the beginning of a wedded life of rare devotion and happiness, and the termination of which, by the death of Lady Hunter in 1716, made for the Governor an incurable wound. In 1707 he was appointed Lt. Governor of Virginia, and at once sailed for the colony. His ship, however, was captured by a French privateer and taken to France, in which country Hunter was detained prisoner for several months. He was exchanged for the Bishop of Quebec, and returned to London about the time of the Palatine sojourn in that city, and was appointed to succeed Lovelace in the government of New York. It is said that he owed this appointment to his friend Addison, at that time Under Secretary of State, which may be in a measure true. If so, we may take it as a proof that favoritism can at times make the most judicious choice, for there is small doubt that the honor and duty of the position could have found no worthier or better-fitted shoulders on which to rest. Nor can there be much doubt that, had Gov. Hunter been properly supported by the home government, and had its pledges to him

been fulfilled, his administration of the Province would have been singularly notable for success.

With the Governor's office the rank of Brigadier General was also conferred upon Hunter, who at once set himself to consider and consult about the affairs of his new government, prominent among which was the disposition of the Palatines. For it was evidently settled in the mind of the Lords of Trade that New York must be the destination of a large number of that people, and one may easily suppose that this thought had large place in the selection of Hunter for the government of that Province, on the ground of his well-known capacity. As the result of his study upon the question, he made a proposition to the Lords of Trade, under date of 30 Nov. 1709,* that three thousand of the Palatines be sent with him to New York, to be employed there in the production of Naval Stores ; but he does not suggest in this note any particular location in the Province. Some special details are entered into, as that four persons should be sent out to instruct the people in the proposed manufacture, and that he should have leave to employ such clerks

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 112.

and other agents as should be needed ; and that utensils, tents, fire-locks, hemp-seed, and other necessaries should be provided. On the next day he addressed another letter to the Board suggesting that it was well to

" consider whether it be advisable that they [the Palatines] be *servants* to the Crown for a certain term, or at least 'till they have repaid the expense the Crown is at in settling them at work and subsisting them whilst they cannot subsist themselves ; and afterwards the lands they possess be granted them in fee, with the reservation of a reasonable Quit-Rent to the Crown."

These suggestions of Hunter bear fruit in a few days in a report by the Board of Trade to the Queen. In this they note that New York is the "most advanced frontier," as against the French and hostile Indians, and that the Palatines, if properly located, might add greatly to the defence of the province. As to the place of their settlement, the Board proposes the region of "the Mohaques and Hudson's Rivers, where are great numbers of Pines fit for the production of Turpentine and Tarr, out of which Rozin and Pitch are made." They specially indicate "a Tract of land lying on Mohaques River, fifty miles by

four, and a Tract lying upon a Creek [undoubtedly the Schoharie] which runs into said River, between twenty-four and thirty miles in length, of which your Majesty has possession." This possession by the Queen is not here attributed to the gift of the Indian chief, but to "the vacating of several extravagant grants."* But it may not be contended that such description disproves the story of a gift, which had so taken possession of the Palatine mind. On the contrary, it might be argued that the Indian offer furnished the reason for selecting that locality.

The report goes on to advise that the Governor be "empowered to settle them on these or other lands, in a Boddy, or in separate settlements, as most fit." Each family should receive forty acres, "after they shall have repaid the government." They should be prohibited from engaging in "the manufacture of Woollen." After their houses are built

* This vacating was enacted in 1698 by the provincial legislature and was afterwards approved by the Queen. It voided several enormous patents given by Col. Fletcher, while he was Governor of New York. Among these was one to a certain Col. Nicholas Bayard, which conveyed the entire valley of Schoharie. We shall meet this Bayard again in connection with the Palatine fortunes.

and the ground cleared, they should "be employed in the making of Turpentine, Rozin, Tarr, and Pitch." And the premium to encourage the importation of Naval Stores should be given "to the Factor or Agent, to and for the sole Benefit of such Palatines, who were, the Manufacturers of such stores."* Finally they should be naturalized and "made denizens of this Kingdom." This report with its advice was approved by the Queen, and steps were at once taken to put the scheme into execution.

In the arrangements made, a new element appears, not found or suggested in the previous shipments of the Palatines from London. With the colonies sent to Ireland, North Carolina, and Virginia the government made no contract for service. The people were simply recipients. There was, indeed, a contract in regard to the North Carolina colony, but the parties in contract with the government were the Swiss partners, who were bound to great care and kindness in their treatment of the emigrants. With regard to the colony

* This premium was, some years before, offered by the government to incite the colonists to such manufacture.

to go out with Hunter the course of government was different. The first measure towards setting his scheme on foot was the making of a contract, not with Hunter or the provincial authorities, but with the Palatines themselves. It is plain from that agreement that the government had an eye, no longer solely to the benefit of these people, but to its own profit and advantage. Nor could such purpose be condemned, the hardships to the Palatines proceeding not from the then intention of the government, but from its subsequent failure to fulfil its own part of the contract ; and also from the fact that the whole transaction was foredoomed to failure, because involving the presumption that Naval Stores could be produced in places where the natural conditions forbade. By this contract the Palatines bound themselves to become, as Hunter suggested, "Servants to the Crown." The government was to transport them to America and subsist them there ; they were to "settle in such place as should be allotted to them" ; were to engage in making Naval Stores, all of which they should suffer to be put into her Majesty's storehouses ; they were not to attempt the

making of any woollen goods ; nor to quit the settlement without the permission of the governor. After they had by their labor repaid the government for the expenses undertaken for them, they should receive £5 and forty acres of land for each family.*

We may fitly note in this place that the production of Naval Stores in some portion of the Queen's dominions was looked upon by the government as among the most desirable and necessitous of things. Already had England made great advance towards the complete mastery of the sea, fulfilling more and more, in almost each succeeding reign, the promise of Frobisher and Drake. Her merchant ships traversed all ocean paths, and her floating fortresses declared her powers in the most distant seas. To her Admiralty it was a constant burden, that for so many of the materials essential to the making of ships, England had to depend on other nations. Her tar and pitch, and many of her masts and spars, she was forced to buy from Norway, Sweden, and Russia ; while most of the hemp for her cord-

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 117-121.

Doc. Hist., iii., 382 *et seq.*

age was grown on continental fields. The expense was a heavy tax upon her exchequer, and the necessity of buying in a foreign market was as heavy a burden to her pride. Hence, as her new empire in America came to be explored and to disclose something of its vast resources, one of the chief objects of search, and a most frequent subject of remark, was the promise of Naval Stores from the forests of the New World. On this the attention of the Lords of Trade and the government is frequently engaged, and diligence to further this "most noble and laudable work" is urged upon the colonial authorities with much and frequent emphasis. In the despatches the words, Naval Stores, are usually dignified with capital initials, expressive of the important nature of the subject.

Many years before the period of the Palatine Immigration the Board of Trade and Colonial governors corresponded in regard to it. Lord Bellomont, in 1699 (*Col. Hist.*, iv., 501), writes in lengthened discussion of the feasibility of producing tar and pitch in his Province of New York. He is enthusiastic over the certainty of inexhaustible quantities of tar in

the New York forests, and of success in the enterprise, if it is attempted in the right way. He goes into detailed calculations as to methods, cost, and amount of expected returns, and advises the employment of soldiers in the manufacture.

The instructions to Lord Lovelace *—20 July, 1708—urge upon him

“to prevent any impediment to this good work, and to take care that in all new patents for land there be inserted a clause restraining the grantees from Burning the Woods to clear the land, under Penalty of forfeiting their Patent. Likewise a clause making a Particular Reservation to us, Our Heirs and Successors, of all Trees of the diameter of 24 inches and upward, at 12 inches from the ground, for Masts for Our Royal Navy, as also of such other Trees as may be fit to make planks, Knees, etc., for the use of our said Navy.”

At a later date Lovelace is directed to use his influence with the colonists towards inducing them to undertake the manufacture of tar and pitch, and other naval stores; and to offer a premium to all persons who shall send such stores to England.

With the desire for such returns from the colonies thus strong in the governmental mind,

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 55.

we can understand the ardor with which the Lords of Trade seized upon the proposition of Gov. Hunter. For some reason the colonists had not been moved to the manufacture of the desired stores, nor had the offered premium been able to attract them from their fisheries and farms. But now the whole matter lies in the hand of the government. Here in London is this great company of Palatines, seeking asylum and occupation. There in the colonies were vast forests of pine, whose shapely stems and resinous gums waited only for the woodman's axe and the tar-bucket. On the banks of Hudson's and Mohaques rivers were millions of noble trees, any one of which was fit

"To be the mast
Of some great ammiral."

How fortunate the conjunction of circumstances, which, while the great pines of America waited to be felled, brought to England these fugitives crying for support ! How fine the opportunity by which the Admiralty can at last realize its long-cherished, but hitherto disappointed, dream ! The workers must be brought to the work. It is interesting and

amusing to note the ardor and enthusiasm with which the authorities adopted the scheme of Hunter, and with what glowing anticipations of assured success they discounted the future. In the Report, in which the Board commends Hunter's proposition to the Queen, they

"take leave to observe that one man may make by his own labor 6 tunns of these Stores in a year, and we have been informed that a number of men, assisting each other, may in proportion make double that quantity, so that, supposing 600 men to be employed in this work, they may produce 7000 tunns of these goods a year: and, if in time a greater quantity of these Stores should be made there than shall be consumed in your Majesty's Dominions, we hope the overplus may turn to a very beneficial trade with Spain and Portugal."

There seems to have been no doubt in the mind of the Lords of Trade that the pines of the Hudson and the Mohawk would furnish all the tar and pitch that England could forever need. The thought was shared by the officials in this country. Thus Hunter, a year afterwards, writes from New York,*—" This great and useful design of providing England forever hereafter with Naval Stores cannot fail other ways than by being let fall at home.—

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 171.

Here is enough for all England forever." And Du Pré, the Commissary, writes,*

"I am confident that it cannot fail of good success, and nothing else than the want of support at home can prevent it. There are Tar and pitch enough for supplying, not only the Royal, but even the whole, Navy of England: and it will give such a life to the Trade of this Country as may very much contribute to encourage the Woollen Manufactory at Home, and discourage of it in the Plantations, by making the returns from this so far exceed the import, that it will make this Port [New York] the emporium of the Continent of America."

There is, indeed, no doubt that New York has become such emporium; but despite the efforts and prophecies of the Lords of Trade and their subordinates, its achievement of that position cannot be set down to the production of Naval Stores. One other glowing prediction is worthy of place here. It is from the pen of John Bridger, the Instructor of the Palatines in tar-making, who writes to the Board of Trade,† "There is enough for all Britain and this Government [New York], with the others on this Continent—and it will be capable of making Great Britain the mart of all Europe for Naval Stores."

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 172. *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 390. † *Col. Hist.*, v., 174.

Hence the instructions of the Queen to Hunter, on the eve of starting for New York, lay great stress upon this scheme, which at the time of his setting forth was regarded by the Home government as the most important duty of his commission, and which, for several years after the London authorities had ceased to interest themselves in it, still retained its hold upon the opinion and desire of the Governor. The royal orders recite,*

“We being informed that our Province of New York do’s abound with vast numbers of Pine Trees proper for the production of Pitch and Tar—[and] Masts for our First-rate ships of War, and Oaks and other Trees fit for beams, knees, planks, and other uses of our Navy Royal—you are to apply your utmost care and diligence towards the promoting of so necessary a Work.”

There is an uncertainty as to the precise date of Hunter’s departure from England with the Palatines. Luttrell, on 29 Dec., 1709, writes, “Collonel Hunter designs, next week to embark for his government at New York, and most of the Palatines remaining here goe with him to people that colony.” Weiser’s reminiscences relate, “About Christmas-day

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 141.

(1709) we embarked, and ten ship loads with about four thousand souls were sent to America." As Weiser was but a boy of twelve at the time, there might easily have been some confusion, as to the exact date, in his later years, as there was in regard to numbers. The royal instructions to the new Governor bear date of 20th January, 1710, and presumably were committed to him in London.

Towards the end of January, then, we may suppose this largest of immigrations to America in the colonial era to have left the shores of England. The people were in ten ships, which made an unusual and imposing fleet. The number of the Palatines embarked must be set much below the figures given by Weiser. In reality there were about three thousand of them. Discrepancies exist in the various statements upon this point, and no official record of the number actually embarked has been preserved. But their number was large enough to crowd the small ships of that day almost to suffocation, and, pitiful as the tale is, it brings no surprise to learn that nearly one sixth of the whole number perished by the way. The voyage was longer than usual by

reason of heavy storms and contrary winds. From near the end of January until after the beginning of June, and for some until into July, the weary people were battling their slow way across the Atlantic. The crowded quarters, the foul air and insufficient food, made them the easy prey of disease, so that every day witnessed the consignment of their dead into the sea. The mortality was terrible and must have covered the fleet as with the shadow of death. Hunter writes from New York on 16th June, 1710, "I arrived here two days ago. We want still three of the Palatine ships, and those arrived are in deplorable sickly condition."

The ships were separated by the weather, and the first to arrive at New York, anticipating the vessel which carried the Governor, was the ship *Lyon*, loaded with Palatines. The authorities of the town were alarmed by the unhealthful condition of the emigrants, among whom, it was reported, were "many contagious diseases" (cases). It was decided to keep them out of the city and to land them on Nutten (now Governor's) Island, and to build huts for them. The full tale of the ships was not

made out until near the end of July, when Hunter writes that

"All the Palatine ships, separated by the weather, are since arrived, except the *Herbert* Frigate. She was cast away on the East end of Long Island, on the 7th July. The men are safe, but our goods are much damaged. The poor people are mighty sickly, but recover apace. We have lost above 470 of our number."*

This loss of the *Herbert* is undoubtedly the historical incident, which gave rise to the legend of the Palatine Ship and Light. The legend is localized on Block, or Manisees, Island, rather than Long Island, but such transference is easy to legendary lore: and, indeed, it is not impossible that, despite the Governor's statement, the ship may have gone ashore on the former island. The legend by a curious heterophemy gives the name of the people to the ship, which becomes in the story, not the frigate *Herbert*, but the ship *Palatine*, supposed to be a merchantman laden with goodly cargo. The tradition represents that the vessel was decoyed ashore by false beacons, and then rifled and burned by the islanders, who steadied themselves for their crime by saying to each

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 166.

other that "dead men tell no tales." But the spirits of the lost ship and crew do not suffer the wreckers to rest without a frequent reminder of their villainy.*

"A light is at times seen from the island upon the surface of the ocean, which in its form has suggested to the imagination a resemblance to a burning ship under full sail ; and it is called the Palatine Light and Palatine Ship."

Hunter says that "the men were saved." He may have meant by this the English sailors, while some of the Palatines were lost. This is suggested by the fact that to this day are shown on the west shore of Block Island some almost obliterated graves, said to be of lost seamen of the ship *Palatine*.

Whittier has set the legend in his exquisite poem, "The Palatine," in which he also gives the name of the people to their ship :

"Into the teeth of death she sped :
(May God forgive the hands that fed
The false lights over the rocky Head !)

But the year went round, and when once more,
Along their foam-white curves of shore,
They heard the line storm rave and roar,

**Penn. Mag. of Hist.*, xi., 243.

Behold ! again with shimmer and shine,
Over the rocks and the seething brine,
The flaming wreck of the Palatine !

For still, on many a moonless night,
From Kingston Head and from Montauk light,
The spectre kindles and burns in sight.

Now low and dim, now clear and higher,
Leaps up the terrible Ghost of Fire,
Then, slowly sinking, the flames expire.

And the wise Sound skippers, though skies be fine,
Reef their sails when they see the sign
Of the blazing wreck of the Palatine ! ”

As the several ships of the fleet came into port, the Palatines were all landed upon Nutten Island, at first for the purposes of quarantine, and afterwards for convenience sake. Their numbers were quite sufficient for a community by themselves, and altogether too large for the little city of New York to care for in its homes and inns. Proclamation was made to prevent extortion in the price of bread and other provisions. The Attorney-General was instructed to devise a plan for the government of the Palatines, and commissions as Justices of the Peace were issued to some of their own

number "to hear small causes," such as might arise among themselves.

The chief one of these Justices, and the most prominent and influential man in the entire company, was John Conrad Weiser. He was the father of the Conrad Weiser to whom reference has been made, and was himself the son of a magistrate of Great Anspach, a town in the Duchy of Wurtemburg. He was educated, followed for a while the vocation of a baker, and in his turn rose to the magistracy of the town. He married Anna Magdalena Uebel, whose character was such as to impress her son Conrad with a profound and life-long reverence. She died in 1709, while giving birth to her sixteenth child. Her death was the crowning affliction for her husband. Personal and domestic sorrow was added to national calamities, and by stress of it he was led to join the emigrating thousands, bringing with him all of his children save two daughters, who had married.

It is possible, as noted in the last chapter, that Kockerthal was with this large company. If so, Weiser shared in his counsels and exercised an equal influence upon the people. It is probable

also that, on arrival at New York, Kockerthal went to his parish and glebe at Quassaick, leaving Weiser easily the chief among his people. Many complaints were afterwards made about Weiser by the authorities and others interested in oppressing the Palatines. He is called, "rascal," "villain," "riotous," "ring-leader of all mischief"; and at one time a warrant was issued for his arrest on a charge of sedition. But the truth was, that those actions, which earned such epithets and attention, were due to the oppressions under which the Palatines were made to suffer. Weiser's bold, free spirit refused to submit to the semi-slavery in which the authorities proposed to hold the people, and he chose such means of resistance as lay ready to his hand. He was seditious only as every revolutionary patriot was seditious.

The sojourn of the people on Nutten Island continued through five months, while the Governor was examining and prospecting after the most promising spot for their permanent establishment. There is an added proof, that the tale of the Indian gift of Schoharie was at least partially true, in the

fact that* Hunter, very soon after arrival, despatched the Surveyor-General of the province "to survey the land on the Mohaques River, particularly the Skohare, to which the Indians have no pretence." Certainly, it is significant that this should have been the first spot looked at; and no great pressure is needed upon the words, "have no pretence," to see in them a recognition of the fact, that the Indians by their gift had surrendered all title to those lands.

While waiting the return and report of the Surveyor, the Governor issued an order for apprenticing children of the Palatines, which may be set down as the first of the oppressive actions of the government towards those people. Hitherto, it would seem that all the measures of the authorities in regard to them had been under the law of kindness. Beyond question the treatment dealt to them in England was munificent, and no objection could lie against the contract of service, supposing it to be faithfully and fairly executed. Nor could the sufferings and mortality of the voyage be chargeable to the authorities.

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 167.

They were more truly due to the stormy seas which protracted the voyage to nearly double the usual length of time. But there was something in this apprenticing of the children which the Palatines seemed to have regarded as peculiarly oppressive. In their statement of grievances, made some years later, they recite with much pathos, "He took away our children from us without and against our consent." But the probabilities are that the Governor was helpless in the matter. Many of the children were orphans, one or both of the parents having died upon the ocean. These the authorities could not keep dependent on public support, nor could their poor fellow-countrymen provide for them. The only thing possible was to put them to service or trades, and thus in homes, where they would be cared for and would learn to support themselves. It is possible that some of the children were taken from parents unwilling to let them go, but of this we have no proof beyond the statement just quoted, the force of which is qualified by the presumption that, in the complaint against the government every available argument and item would be used.

Not improbably the action of the Governor was with an arbitrary and imperious manner, but it does not appear that anything else could have been done under the circumstances.* There is preserved in the colonial documents a list of some of these apprenticed children, possibly all of them, eighty-four in number, giving their names and ages, and the names and residences of their masters. In the list some things may be noted with interest, as that two sons, George and Frederick, of John Conrad Weiser were among those bound out. Also that Robert Livingston of the Manor had indentured to him no less than seven of the children. We observe also that the places of residence of the masters are widely scattered, from Albany to Long Island, from Rhode Island to New Jersey. These distances, of course, meant at that time much more of separation than they would to-day. With many of these children the distance effected life-long separation from, and ignorance of, their kindred. Conrad Weiser said in later years that, when his brothers were apprenticed, they were lost to the family

**Doc. Hist.*, iii., 341. See Note II.

forever, and he knew not what had become of them.

But the chief note of interest in this list is found in a certain lad, thirteen years of age, John Peter Zenger by name, whose father had died at sea, and who was apprenticed to one William Bradford, a printer of New York. The name of this lad it behoves every lover of American liberty to remember, and no apology is needed to arrest the current of our immediate story in order to tell in few words what he did for the country of his adoption.*

After Zenger had grown to manhood, there arose a fierce quarrel between Governor Cosby and the Council on the question of salary, which was ever a mooted question between the Royal Governors and the Provincial legislature in New York, and often employed by the latter for the malicious harassment of the Governor. On this occasion the quarrel waxed so strong that the Governor carried it into the court for a mandamus requiring the concession of his claim. The court, supposed to be biassed by reason of the fact that the Chief-Justice, De Lancey, and Justice Philipse sat

* Booth's *Hist. of New York*, p. 329 *et seq.*

upon the bench by the Governor's appointment and at his pleasure, decided against the Council, and issued the mandamus. At this decision the whole city was roused, and the popular indignation found voice at the hand of Zenger. His former employer, Bradford, published the *New York Gazette*, which espoused the Governor's cause; and in opposition thereto, Zenger, who had gone into business as a printer for himself, and was also the Collector of Taxes, started a newspaper, the *New York Weekly Journal*, which was first issued on the 5th of Nov. 1733, and at once assailed the Governor. It abounded in "caustic articles satirizing the Court. All colonial grievances were taken up and fearlessly discussed." The authorship of the articles was attributed to William Smith and James Alexander, advocates, who through government influence had been defeated as candidates for the Council. The government was highly incensed by the *Journal*, and ordered four numbers of it to be publicly burned by the hangman, in the presence of the Mayor and city magistrates. But the city courts refused to receive the order and forbade its execution by the hangman;

and the only way in which the order was carried out was by a negro slave of the Sheriff, in the absence of the magistrates. This could not satisfy the government, which promptly arrested Zenger and threw him into prison, denying to him pen, ink, and paper. Being brought up on *habeas corpus*, the court demanded so excessive bail, that he had to return to prison, where he continued to edit his paper, whispering his instructions to his employees through the chinks in the door. The Grand Jury refused to indict him, but the Attorney-General filed an Information for Seditious Libel against him, and he was arraigned for trial by the court he had satirized. His council were Smith and Alexander, who began by excepting to the commissions of the Chief-Justice and Justice Philipse, because they ran "during pleasure." This objection so enraged the court that the advocates were at once disbarred, and the case adjourned. There was no other advocate in the city who dared to appear for Zenger, whose friends sent to Philadelphia, and secured the services of the celebrated Andrew Hamilton, long at the head of the Pennsylvania bar and without a

superior in all the colonies. At this time he was eighty years old, but still in full vigor of both mind and body. Without impugning in any way the character or integrity of the Court, Hamilton's plea was a triumphant defence of his client and "the first vindication of the liberty of the Press in America." "The verdict of acquittal will stand as the first trumpet of American Independence."

The main items of the story—the attack of the government on the press and the triumphant vindication of its rights and liberty by the great lawyer and patriot—are well known to most Americans. Not so many know that the first blows in the struggle—so pregnant for the future of American freedom and citizenship—were struck by the hand of a Palatine. The story of his countrymen, coming hither in their poverty and distress, has been often slighted and disesteemed, and yet it cannot be properly told without the tale of Zenger's boldness, tenacity and love of right, wherefrom thus early came into American institutions one of their greatest blessings and bulwarks. To get established that for which he fought were worth all the expense, suffering, and labor of

the Immigration. It may be said, indeed, that Zenger himself can hardly be credited with any deep consciousness as to the principle involved, or with any far-reaching plan to define and conserve the rights of humanity. This doubtless is true; but the same is true also of the vast majority of men who have risen against wrong and oppression, and by their work have laid the generations under tribute. They have simply known where the yoke galled them, and have striven to throw it off. Few leaders of men are like Sam. Adams, who was almost unique in his foresight of the end from the beginning. To most it falls only to give occasion by their resolute fearlessness for the advent of a blessing, of the full form of which they have small conception. So it is that to have given occasion for the establishment of a Free Press is an imperishable honor to be set down to the credit of Zenger, and to be noted as among the benefits ministered to America by the children of the Palatines.

We return again to the company on Nutten Island, whose settlement in a permanent home was giving the Governor no little trouble. The report of the Surveyor, or the attractiveness

of some other place, dislodged from his mind the idea of placing them at Schoharie. He writes, "It is no wise fit for the design in hand. There is good lands, but no pine." At a later period he admits that pine may be found in that region. Du Pré, who went to London in the Governor's interest, alleged that the Mohawk had a "fall of six hundred feet," so that the transportation of the tar and pitch to tide-water would be very difficult. By this "fall," of course, he did not mean a cataract, but the descent of the stream from the confluence of the Schoharie to the Hudson. The exaggeration may have been made in ignorance and from guess-work. The actual descent is not much above two hundred feet. After the failure on the Hudson, and the departure of many of the people to the Schoharie—both to be yet narrated—the Governor suggests that those who had gone thither "might be employed in the vast pine forests near Albany."

It is probable that the great distance of Schoharie from New York had about as much influence as any other consideration on his mind. He is confident that he "will be able to carry it on elsewhere. There is no want of Pine, but

the Pine land being good for nothing, the difficulty will ly in finding such a situation as will afford good land for their settlements near the Pine lands." Then he says, "I am in terms with some who have lands on Hudson's River fitt for that purpose." Presently, on October 3d, he reports a purchase of land, and on November 14th writes, "I have just returned from settling the Palatines on Hudson's River," and describes the location as a tract of six thousand acres which he had bought from Robert Livingston, for "400 pds. this country money — £266 English, adjacent to the Pines." Also, as this tract was not large enough for settling and employing all the people, he had placed some of them on a tract "over against it," on the west side of the river, "near Sawyer's Creek," on lands "a mile in length" and having about eight hundred acres, "belonging to the Queen." The Governor writes of the two settlements :

" Each family hath a sufficient lot of good arable land, and ships of fifteen foot draught of Water can sail up as far as their Plantations. They have already built themselves comfortable huts and are now employed in clearing the ground. In the Spring I shall set them to work in preparing the trees."

Here again he gives voice to his confidence in this unfailing source of naval stores.

"I myself have seen Pitch Pine enough upon the river to serve all Europe with Tarr."

The people were settled by the Governor in five villages, three of them on the east side of the river. The number of villages was shortly increased to seven, and their names appear as Hunterstown, Queensbury, Annisbury, and Haysbury, on the east side, while Elizabeth Town, Georgetown, and New Village were situated on the opposite side of the river. Of these names not one remains. They had vogue but for a very few years. Germantown embraced afterwards all the villages on the east side of the river, while those upon the west were all lost in the town of Saugerties. The two names of locality in use among the Palatines, which have survived until now, are East Camp and West Camp, though the former only lives in local speech. West Camp is still a distinct village, and appears on every good map of Ulster County. In addition to these names, very soon after the settlement at West Camp, another name, still surviving, though not appearing in the

official records, Kaatsbaan, was affixed to a locality about two miles to the westward. The old stone church, built there on a rocky knoll in 1732, has bequeathed to its successor of the present day its rear wall, a yet standing witness to the settlement and piety of the Palatines. Besides this, another name, Rhinebeck, on the east side of the river, owes its origin to Palatines who, after the explosion at East Camp, looked a little southward for their homes. This the name of the town implies, while in families still surviving in the town names appearing on the lists of the immigration are represented to this day.

The settlements on the east side were within the domain of the famous Manor of Livingston, which, by various acquisitions at sundry times, by purchase from the Indians, and by royal grants, had become baronial in its proportions. It measured sixteen miles on the river-bank, and stretched eastward twenty-four miles to the Massachusetts line, including the territory now forming the seven townships of Livingston, Copake, Taghkanic, Ancram, Gallatin, Clermont, and Germantown. The first patent covering the most of this domain

was issued to Livingston in 1686 by Governor Dongan, and in 1714 Hunter gave him a new patent, erecting the demesne into "one Lordship or Manor," and investing Livingston with baronial rights, "with power and authority to establish one Court Leete and one Court Baron," to try causes arising on the Manor and to impose fines and penalties.* Hunter's six thousand acres were mostly within the limits of the present Germantown—the name evidently a memorial of this first settlement—between the river and Roelof Jansen's Kill, a stream running northwesterly and emptying into the Hudson near the Manor-House. Here were settled about two thirds of the Palatines.

It should be noted that, according to a list preserved on record, 339 of the refugees were domiciled in the city of New York. There were about one hundred more. The most of them were widows, single women, and children, unfit for the "great and good design" of making tar and pitch. In a few years they were able to build a Lutheran church. The structure was near Trinity

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 416.

Church, and was destroyed by the great fire of 1776. On its site was afterwards erected the first building of Grace Parish.* This New York company seems to have suffered great mortality in the first year, as in September of 1711 a petition from an undertaker in the city, praying payment for two hundred and fifty coffins supplied to the Palatines, is presented to the Governor. Part of these must have been furnished while the great body of the immigrants was on Nutten Island. In any event, this item, together with the account of loss during the voyage, makes a somewhat terrible record. Within eighteen months fully one quarter of the entire number had died.

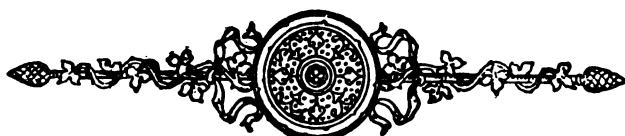
It should be further noted that in the after experience of trouble and disaster, which came to the settlers up the Hudson, those on the Manor were almost solely involved. It does not appear that any serious effort was made towards the manufacture of naval stores on the west side of the river. Save when the summons was issued for volunteers to serve in the campaign of 1711 against Canada, the more fortunate settlers on this side were, for

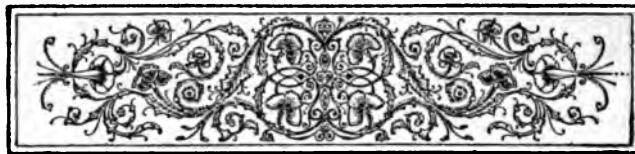
* Dunlap's *New York*, p. 270.

the most part, left free to build their homes and turn the forest into farms. Here they subdued the wilderness and founded families, many of which live to-day on the ancestral acres, a sturdy, diligent, thrifty, and God-fearing community.

It is on the East Camp that our attention must be fixed, and on the effort to turn the forests of the Hudson into the navy of England. It was a great experiment, well worthy of attempt under right conditions. Its success would beyond doubt have ministered immensely to the advantage of the government. But it was fore-doomed to disastrous failure. By a very strange obliquity, the scheme, which had for so many years engaged the attention of the Home government and the Lords of Trade, which had enlisted the enthusiasm and diligence of Governor after Governor, which had provided so engrossing a topic for correspondence and calculation, and for its initiation had cost the government so large an outlay of money, was no sooner set on foot than the London authorities lost all interest in it and, without waiting for any demonstration of success or failure, refused to have anything more

to do with the undertaking. Hunter seems to have been the only one, whose continuance of regard for the attempt bore any proper relation to the zeal of its beginning. As we shall see, to him it brought increasing annoyance and embarrassment, a ruined fortune and reputation and a broken heart; while to the poor Palatines it occasioned severe suffering, cruel oppression, mutiny, and flight.



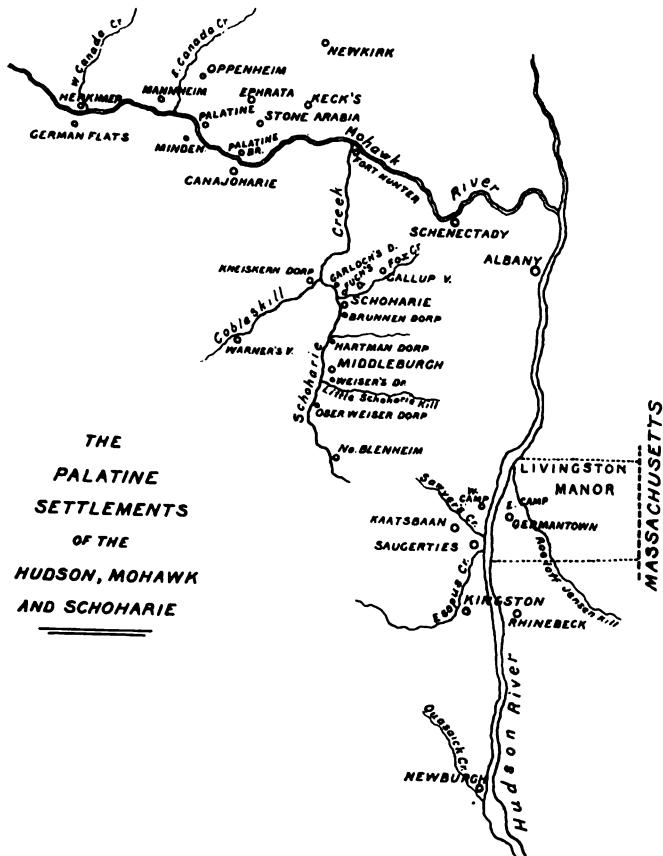


CHAPTER V.

THE FAILURE.

THE three villages in the East Camp contained about twelve hundred people; men, women, and children, among whom the number of able-bodied men must have been not large. They constituted a small force with which to carry on "the good and useful design," supposing that success therein was among the possibilities. As the result proved, there were quite enough of them to demonstrate the futility of the attempt. The work could not begin at once. The season of their establishment on the Manor was well advanced into the late fall, no work on the trees was possible at that time of year, and the first labors of the people had to be directed towards housing themselves for the winter. During that winter, if we are to receive the

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OF THE
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AND SCHOHARIE





statements of the Palatines themselves, they suffered greatly from the severity of the cold and the insufficient supply of clothing from the government. They complained also bitterly that the supply of food furnished to them was short of their need and of poor quality. These statements should, perhaps, be taken with some grains of allowance, as the unfamiliar surroundings and the immediate prospect of unrequited and compulsory toil may have very soon moved the people to discontent. In their extemporized huts, shivering with the unwonted cold, they had leisure to contrast their situation and outlook with the good their fancy had painted, and in pursuit of which they had come hopefully over the sea, bearing without murmur the sufferings and sorrows of the voyage. They dwelt in thought on the lands of the Schoharie, which, they said, "the Queen had given them"; and considered that any action was oppressive which hindered entrance into that possession. They looked upon their detention on the Manor as a virtual bondage, and their obligation to work under the orders of the authorities as little short of slavery. This feeling was undoubtedly intensified by the

treatment received from the Governor's agents, who carried themselves as masters among serfs, an attitude and disposition not easily tolerable by men who had resisted oppression and tyranny in the Old World, and for the sake of freedom had come to the new. The discontent found early expression. The snows had hardly disappeared and the people been able to begin the work upon the trees, when Mr. Cast, one of the commissioners over the Palatines, wrote to Governor Hunter, March 1711 :

" The people contemplate their present settlement for a couple of years. I asked Mr. Kockerthal how his people behave. He tells me all are at work and busy, but manifestly with repugnance and merely temporarily ; that the tract intended for them is in their mind a land of Canaan. It is a dangerous time to settle (in Schoharie), and they are willing to have patience for two years. But they will not hear of tar-making."

Mr. Cast's next letter, a few days later, suggests that he had had some trouble with the people, by telling of a better mind in them at that writing. * He writes to Hunter, who seems to have made a visit to allay the trouble, that the people were behaving

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 212.

"as well as could be desired. Those of Queensbury, previously the most perverse, came to tell me they would take the remainder of their share of the Salt-Beef, and had got the people to submit to the overseer. A great many from all the villages came to receive the tools, and all without exception evinced a modesty, civility and respect, which surprized as much as it delighted me. Nothing more is heard about moving elsewhere."

In another letter, written a few days later, he recognizes that the discontent is not entirely dissipated, and relates bits of a conversation overheard by him between five Palatines sitting around a fire, who all

"agreed that the settlement at the Manor was a good plan (for the present). But they wanted more land. One counseled submission. Another said, 'We came to America to establish our families, and to secure lands for our children, on which they may be able to support themselves after we die. This we cannot do here.' One advised patience and hope. Another replied, 'Patience and Hope make fools of those who fill their bellies with them.' At this they all laughed and changed the conversation."

In several of the letters of Cast, Hunter and Secretary Clarke the statement is made that the discontent of the Palatines was due to malicious mischief-makers in the neighbor-

hood. The last named wrote to the Lords of Trade :

" It 's hardly credible that men, who reap so great a benefit by these people, should be so malicious as to possess them with notions so injurious to themselves and prejudicial to her Majesty's interest ; and yet it is so. Great pains have been taken to magnify the goodness of that (land) at Schohary above this."

Little credit, however, can be given to this complaint. At the least, it is disingenuous. At that time that district was almost uninhabited and could furnish but few agents of disorder to this people, who needed no other influences than their own destitute condition and their defeated hopes.

The allusion in Cast's letter to the danger in settling Schoharie, was because of the immediate prospect of renewed hostilities with the French. The Schoharie valley was beyond the English settlements and, if occupied, would become the " most advanced frontier of the Province." While prudence required delay in going to that land of promise, there is notable evidence that fear and cowardice had little to do with that decision. The military returns of enlistment for the war from the Palatine

villages show a remarkable readiness and devotion. From the three villages on the east side of the river went three companies, of one of which John Conrad Weiser was captain. The force of the three companies was one hundred and five men, fully one third of all the able-bodied men in the settlement. We need not follow their fortunes in the war. They were bloodless and involved little more than marching up to Albany and back again, the whole campaign of that year being a complete fiasco. But this large proportional enlistment of the Palatines proves the quality of the people, whom the authorities were endeavoring to subject to a state of vassalage, as very far above that low and squalid nature which some comments seem to intimate. They seem in this respect, whatever may have been the issue of the tar experiment, to have more than justified one of the hopes of the Lords of Trade, who coupled with their scheme for naval stores that of so planting the Palatines, that they should be "a barrier against the French and Indians and a defence to the Province." In the Hudson valley they nobly showed their manly spirit, and afterwards on

the Mohawk did yeoman's service in protecting the liberties of their new country.

On the return of the volunteers the work among the trees, in preparing them for the production of tar, began again; and with it was again heard the voice of Palatine discontent, to which was added another item of complaint: that while the volunteers went willingly to the war, "leaving their wives and little children bare of necessities," they were not paid for their military services. It is not at all unlikely that the authorities regarded that service, tho not in the contract, yet as consuming its time, fully paid for by the past expense of government on the Palatine account. So early as in May the murmur among the people had reached such proportions, that the commissioners sent to New York for the Governor to come up to the Manor, when he found on arrival a state of things not far removed from mutiny. On inquiry of the people themselves, they told the Governor, that the lands allotted to them on the Manor were good for nothing, and demanded that he send them to "Scorie,"* to the lands given to the Queen for

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii, 396, 423.

them." "They would rather lose their lives than remain where they are. They had been cheated by the contract, which was not the same as that read to them in England. A great many things promised them they had not received. The true contract they were willing to perform, but to be forced by another contract to remain on these lands all their lives, and work for her Majesty for the ships' use, that they will never do." The Governor argued with them, and showed them the difficulties of settlement at Schoharie, that "they would be compelled on that frontier to labor as the Israelites did of old, with a sword in one hand and an ax in the other."

With this the Governor pacified them for the moment, and, thinking quiet to be restored, set out on his return to New York ; but before he reached the city, he was overtaken by a messenger with the tidings that the mutiny had broken out afresh. Whereupon he turned back towards the Manor in no very amiable frame of mind. An order was at once despatched to Albany for Colonel Nicholson and a company of British soldiers ; and the Governor, getting the heads of the people together,

rated them soundly for their breach of contract, and demanded "how they dared to disobey him." He had "the contract read in High Dutch, and then asked, Would they fulfil it? that he might know what he should do." At first, the people, cowed by the determined attitude of Hunter, replied that they would fulfil the contract. But by the next morning they had gathered courage and changed their mind, and told the Governor that they wished to go to Schoharie. Again there was more argument and more threat from the Governor, who dismissed the chiefs of the people, with the order to think over the matter and consult with their people, and to give him a final answer on the morrow. By the morrow the soldiers had arrived upon the scene, and Hunter felt confident of subduing the outbreak. Summoning the Palatine chiefs, he demanded their final reply, and they answered with the same demand, "Scorie. They would have the lands appointed for them by the Queen." On this Hunter altogether lost his patience. He in a passion stamped upon the ground and said,* "Here is your land

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 424.

(meaning the almost barren Rocks) where you must live and die."

Meanwhile, as the "Deputies" were conferring with the Governor, the people took alarm from his evident anger and the presence of the soldiers. Some of the volunteers, who had been permitted to retain their arms, gathered and took their station not far removed from the Governor's quarters. They alleged that this movement was only for the protection of their chiefs, whom they supposed to be in danger, but the Governor was so incensed that he deployed the troops, and under threat of their fire disarmed the Palatines. This broke the spirit of the malcontents, who saw that further resistance was impossible. Forced to submit, they dispersed to their several villages, to wait until deliverance should come to them by another way.

Meanwhile they took up their task and wrought at it, if not contentedly, at least steadily, through the following summer, but now and then allowing some murmurs of discontent to escape them; while the Governor and the agents congratulated themselves on the progress made, and the glowing promise

of success "in this good and useful design." There is no need for our following the course of this work, now not far from a total and ignominious failure; but two quotations from the correspondence of the summer may show the highest point reached towards success. Thus Sec'y Clarke wrote to the Board of Trade in June :*

" The Palatines are now demonstrating sincere repentance. They are at work on the Trees, of which they prepare fifteen thousand a day. The children are busy in gathering up Knots, which will be burnt this year, and I doubt not a considerabe quantity of Tar made of them. . . . The people work with all the cheerfulness imaginable."

In September Hunter wrote :

" The tumults raised among them by the ill arts of such as had a mind to crush the design, have had a quite contrary effect, for since that time and a new modell of management, they have been very busy and obedient. I have now prepared near a hundred thousand trees, and in the fall will sett them to work on the second preparation. That noe hands may be idle, wee employed the Boys and Girls in gathering knotts, out of which he

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 250.

† This refers to the putting Richard Sackett as Instructor in the place of Bridger.

(Sackett) has made about 3 score barralls of good Tarr, and hath kills ready to sett on fire for as much more, so soon as he gets casks ready to receive it."

A curious and sharp comment on this last statement occurs in the reply of the Lords of Trade, who say: "We desire you to inform us how and out of what Funds those Casks are provided." To which the Governor answered that he had taken that cost out of the funds for the subsistence of the Palatines! In another letter Hunter intimated that other necessities, such as the salaries of the agents, had been provided for out of that same subsistence fund, and one can easily conceive that the complaints of the Palatines as to quantity and quality of their food had abundant justification.

Towards the end of the fall it became evident that the Palatines had nearly reached the limit of their patience, and hints are frequent that the agents are meeting with increasing trouble. By an order of Hunter a court was established, "to regulate and govern the Palatines." The court had seven members, of whom were Livingston, Sackett, Cast, and "the Officer commanding the troops at the Living-

ston Manor." Evidently the people were of such refractory spirit that the constant presence of soldiers was necessary. In the following spring Hunter ordered from Albany to the Manor an additional force of "a Lieutenant and thirty men." The coopers "are to be kept to their work by as many soldiers as needed." The court was to make the people understand that, "by her Majesty's orders and their own contract they are obliged to follow the manufacturing of Naval Stores." It was empowered to "punish by confinement or corporal punishment, not extending to life or mutilation; and to take cognizance of all Misdemeanors, Disobedience, or other Wilful Transgression."* The List-Masters—of whom Weiser was one—were to give to Sackett lists of such men as were fit for any proposed work, of whom Sackett "shall send for as many as he please, and if they refuse they shall be punished." The court should meet "once a week, or oftener, for punishing the delinquents. If any of the people are negligent or Lazy," Mr. Sackett is to "punish in such manner as he shall judge fit." There would seem to be

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 401, 406.

small room for doubt that the Palatines were held to a semi-slavery. However the terms of the contract and the obligations incurred through the outlay of the government could rightly require the performance of the stipulated work, the harsh, imperious, and cruel proceedings of the authorities go far to justify the Palatines in repudiating their share of obligation. A more faithful and kinder discharge of the governmental obligations would have met a much more docile mind. As it was, the people considered themselves as cheated in every way ; neither money nor land promised had been given ; the food was not sufficient or good ; the clothing too scanty for comfort or decency, while their superiors were to them as hard taskmasters, whose rule was cruel and oppressive. There is no room for wonder that they were in a chronic state of revolt.

In such condition they entered upon their second winter on the Manor, and in the cessation of their work upon the trees had plenty of leisure to suffer, reflect and conspire.* In the "Statement of Grievances," laid by them before the King in 1720, they describe this

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 423.

winter in harrowing terms and language almost grotesque. It was,

"very severe, and no provision to be had, and the people bare of Clothes, which occasioned a terrible Consternation among them, and particularly from the women and Children the most pitifull and dolorous Cryes and lamentations that have perhaps ever been heard from any persons under the most wretched and miserable Circumstances, so that they were at last, much against their wills, put under the hard and greeting necessity of seeking relief from the Indians."

This statement of relief from the Indians alludes to a deputation sent to the Indians of Schoharie, which did not go on its mission until the following autumn, and of which more will be mentioned hereafter. It is probable that the resolution to send such deputation was made in the consultations of this winter of hardship, and waited a convenient season for putting it into execution. It is evident that in these months they came to the decision to endure the miseries of their situation and the service, which they felt to be a bondage, no longer than necessity compelled. Thus they came into the spring with a determination to resist and break away so soon as pos-

sible. The agents had a sorry time with them through the following months. In April, 1712, some of them deserted the Manor and crossed the river, seeking a refuge among the Dutch and their countrymen on the west side. Undoubtedly to check such desertion, the Justices of Kingston*—probably in response to a demand of Hunter or Sackett—ordered the constables “to take back to the Palatine villages any of the Palatines who have left and settled in sundry villages.” The authorities were not minded that the Manor settlements should be diminished, or any of the Palatines should slip from underneath their hands. There is another curious token of this intention later in the year—made more curious by its accompanying the practical abandonment of the enterprise. The Governor, in writing to the commissioners at the Manor that the work must be suspended because of lack of funds, and giving permission to the Palatines to leave the Manor in search of occupation, forbids their going out of the New York and New Jersey provinces. “If any do, measures shall be taken for their

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 404.

rendition and punishment as deserters." Each man leaving the Manor must obtain a Ticket of Leave for a named place, a record of which shall be kept, "so that if he abandon that place he may be brought back and punished." If any depart without a ticket, "apply to the next Justice of the Peace for a Hue and Cry, in order to pursue and bring him back, and place him in confinement." *

The opening spring of 1712 found the Palatines quite ready for any scheme which would thwart the oppressive plans of the Governor. Not many notes are preserved, but what little has been put on permanent record shows that the difficulties of the undertaking were increasing. Money to carry it on was lacking, and the spirit of the people was becoming more and more obstructive. Sackett builds a bridge over the Kill, "for the conveyance of Tar to the River side, and the people say it will rot before it is put to that use." †

The Governor's description of the situation is very suggestive. ‡

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 410.

† *Doc. Hist.* iii., 403.

‡ *Col. Hist.*, v., 301.

"I employed," he wrote in January, 1712, "three hundred in the land forces. On return I disarmed them. They are planted where they are covered every way, and whilst they are armed they are ungovernable. What from the instigation of ill neighbors, and what from the natural turbulence of their temper, I find it hard to keep the generality of them to their duty and contract without force."

He claims that, despite such untoward circumstances, "the work is in great forwardness."

Later in the year he wrote with more hopefulness to the Lords of Trade: "Their work comes fully up to expectation. . . . I hear no complaints of late. The people work cheerfully since they understood that they should have one half of the profits of the manufacture." This arrangement was evidently a change in contract, introduced by Hunter himself to persuade the recalcitrant people. If such co-operative feature had been in the original contract, it is likely that more docility and more success would have marked the experiment.

In May the commissioners despatched a note to Colonel Ingoldsby, "Att the fort att Albany," in which they said, "finding that there is no good to be done with these peo-

ple, who will obey no orders without compulsion, we desire your Hon' to despatch s^d Detachment as soon as possible." Evidently, so far as the temper of the Palatines was concerned, the situation was becoming impossible of continuance.

Supplies were failing on account of lacking funds, and Livingston, who had the contract for furnishing bread and beer to the people, finds difficulty in carrying it on. There is a curious note of his to Lawrence Smith in New York, in which he complains of the difficulty in "supplying flower to the Palatines," and also insists upon his own advantage in not wanting any paper money, but hard silver. "Send it by first opportunity, els am quite untwisted." *

The contract was taken by Livingston from the date of the Palatines' arrival at the Manor. It demanded "for each person each day a quantity of Bread equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of a loaf commonly at price of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in New York, and one quart of Beer, such as is usually called Ship's Beer, of the price of £3 for each Tun-All." The bill rendered by Livingston for

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 391.

the first four months of such supply was £5703-13-6.

As the summer of 1712 brought depletion of funds the Governor sought to economize, and wrote to Livingston that he should supply "beer only for the men that work and not for their families. I believe there are a great many widows and Orphans among the people. I wish I could know how many, that they might be turned to some use, or be no longer a burden."* The tone of this note and the somewhat cruel suggestion at its close that, unless the widows and orphans could be "turned to some use," they must be turned adrift, make strong exhibit of the sore financial straits into which Hunter and his enterprise had come. In fact the financial difficulties began before the first winter at the Manor was over, and through the next year and a half the Governor was put to all manner of hazardous measures to provide for the prosecution of the work. By the end of that period he came to the end of all his resources both for patience and money. In September of 1712 he wrote to Cast :

"I have exhausted all the money and credit I was

* *Ibid.*, p. 409.

master of for the support of the Palatines, and embarrassed with difficulties which I know not how to surmount, if my bills of exchange be not paid. . . . I have no desire that the people quit their establishments, now that the work has arrived at such a point of perfection."*

Then he proposed "this expedient," that Cast should call the people together, and tell them the state of affairs, and that they must shift for themselves. Those who can support themselves on the Manor should remain there. As to the others, "I wish they would accept any employment from farmers and others in this Province or New Jersey, until recalled by Proclamation or other notice. The contract is still binding and they *must* return on call." Then, after defining the police regulations already quoted, the Governor proceeds :

"I hope to have advices between this and spring of the payment of my bills of exchange, which will again enable me to support the whole of them. They must therefore not calculate on being dispersed for any greater length of time. . . . You see the necessity to which I am reduced. It causes me much uneasiness, because I am convinced that the work can not fail, were the people on the spot to prosecute it. I have the testimony of a good conscience in having done all that depended on

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 410.

me for their support and prosecuting the work for which they were destined."

This was the end of the experiment, a failure total and in some respects disgraceful. The Palatines so understood it, and more than half of them set out on their journey to "the promised land of Scorie," as will presently be detailed. To the Governor this large migration was both a grief and a displeasure. He wrote again to Cast :

" Do your best to retain as many as possible of these poor people within their duty, and I shall distinguish them from the rest by all the grants of land in my power. As to the others, I only pray God to turn away the Vengeance, which menaces them, and which they have richly deserved. Distribute as soon as possible whatever you have among the sick and indigent."

Inasmuch as the only Vengeance which menaced them was of the Governor's own invention, it does not appear that he need ask the Lord to turn it away.

In fact, the departure of this large company from the Manor seems to have ruffled and exasperated the Governor more than any other incident of the enterprise, and his after-conduct towards the Schoharie settlers was char-

acterized by a vindictiveness altogether without excuse. It is the only part of his relations to the Palatines in which his conduct challenges decided reproach. It was also unlike himself, as we understand his nature, and is only to be explained by the intensity of his sense of disappointment on the failure of the "good and useful design," which he had proposed to the Board of Trade and had undertaken with ardor, in which he had sunk his entire fortune and had taken on himself debts that he could never meet. Undoubtedly the Governor felt, under the circumstances, that his honor was specially involved, not only with regard to financial obligations, but also as affected his reputation as a man of affairs and as governor of a province. He wrote, while the work was yet in progress, that from it he derived his sole pleasure from his office ; and from the success of the experiment he evidently counted on reaping both distinction and wealth. When the disastrous failure ensued he felt that, in place of becoming the object of great honor as the man who had conferred signal blessings on the Navy of England, he had rather become the butt for ridicule ; and, instead of re-

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couping himself for his unwise advances—unwise as too blindly trusting in the good faith of the Home government—he had rather plunged himself into a pit of irretrievable bankruptcy. One can have sympathy for a person in such circumstances, but at the same time condemn his persecution of the Palatines, whom he seems to have regarded as the sole cause of the great failure.

The true cause of this failure should be noted before following the Palatines who sought the Schoharie. Among them is to be placed the fact that the whole scheme was based on a mistake as to material. It was too easily taken for granted that the pines of the Hudson could be made to produce tar and pitch in such quantities as to bring remunerative returns for the pecuniary outlay. This was a mistake and fatal to the enterprise. Had there been no other obstruction, had the Palatines been completely docile and unmurmuring, had the English Treasury taken up all of Hunter's bills and furnished all the funds needed, still three or four years would have demonstrated that the work could not be prosecuted at a profit. The only recorded

return of the manufacture is of the "three score barrels of good Tar," which Hunter reports as made from the pine knots gathered by the children, concerning which we can be somewhat sceptical as to the quality of the product. Beyond this all the return is in promises and prophecies. Much stress is frequently and justly laid on the necessity for two years' "preparation of the trees," before the tar and pitch can be produced. This preparation is a peculiar process, by cutting and barking, through which the sap of the pine is concentrated. Then, after the proper length of time, the tree is felled and the wood burned in a kiln, in which the resinous gums flow out and the fibre is changed to charcoal. Up to the time of the breakdown the work had not gotten beyond the period of preparation, so that, except for the small amount of tar derived from burning the knots—which in all varieties of pine have more or less of resin ready to hand, as one may say—there had as yet been no means of exhibiting the finished product. Hunter could write honestly, "the tar work was brought to all the perfection possible in the time."

There is in connection with this statement an amusing reply of Hunter to sundry critical "friends in England," who wished to "see some of the tar," and who, he says, "must take your Lordships' and my word for it."*

But neither their Lordships' nor Hunter's word could make tar and pitch in paying quantities from trees that did not produce them. The great tar-bearing tree of this continent is the *Pinus australis*, which is not found north of the southern borders of Virginia. Thence southward to the Gulf and within 150 miles of the coast it abounds in great forests, and is familiarly known as the Georgia Pine. So far as the Palatine immigration was concerned with the production of tar, if the North Carolina colony had been set to such work, the government might have looked for profitable returns. But the Hudson valley could not answer. The most common of the northern pines is the *Pinus Strobus*,—the ordinary white pine—much of which has almost no resin whatever, while none of it is rich enough in gum to make its burning an object. Besides this variety is the less common *Pinus rigida*,

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 347.

tho frequently found from Maine to Georgia. This tree is quite resinous, but does not grow to such size or occur in so large masses as to justify in any one spot so large expense as was involved in this attempt at tar-making by the Palatines. There was, indeed, during the Colonial period—and may be down to this time—no little tar made in New England from the *Pinus rigida*.* Williamson says, “Pitch and tar were made and exported in great quantities.” But these “great quantities” must be understood as the aggregate of these products, made in small quantities and separate parts of the country, and constituting for the woodsman or farmer an avocation in the midst of his regular pursuits. This tree could not furnish the base for an extensive “plant” in any one place.

It seems somewhat strange that these facts were not sufficiently well known to prevent the undertaking. And yet the very fact of getting any tar at all from the northern pines might easily suggest to inexperience the thought, that much more would be produced by the larger number of people employed.

* *Hist. of Maine*, ii., 95.

Then, too, it is likely that neither Hunter nor the Lords of Trade knew any marked distinctions among the pines. In their minds, a pine was a tar-bearing tree, and that was about all they knew in regard to the matter.

It is also reasonably certain that, after his arrival in America, the Governor was misled by the man, John Bridger, whom he put into the place of Instructor to the Palatines.* This Bridger had been commissioned, some fifteen years before, by the Board of Admiralty to examine into the capacity of the American colonies for the production of naval stores—to survey the woods, and discover the forests most productive of material for masts, spars, tar and pitch. He went first to Barbadoes, and thence with Lord Bellomont to New York, in 1698. He was sent into New England to instruct its people in the process of tar-making; and on Hunter's coming with the Palatines was recalled to New York. He went with that people to the Manor, gave some instructions in the manufacture, began the "preparing" of some trees, and then returned to New England. In the following season Hunter wrote for him

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 175, note.

to resume his work among the Palatines. But Bridger refused to return, alleging various excuses to the Governor. He did not, however, tell him—what was probably his real reason—that the attempt being made on the Manor was hopeless from the start. It is probable that he early discovered the mistake made in that project, and so hastened to absent himself, either not wishing or not daring to enlighten the Governor as to the true state of facts. His refusal to return was the occasion of great anger on the part of Hunter, who lost very few opportunities for speaking of him in very disparaging words. "Ignorant, incompetent, unworthy, disobedient," are the best words which Sec'y Clarke can apply to him, while Hunter writes of his "wickedness and baseness," and with a fine scorn describes "his last letters, which denote a greater attention to his private profit than to the Publick Service." Bridger remained in New England, and was by the Massachusetts government made Surveyor-General of the Woods. In 1718 he was accused before the General Court of oppression and corruption, the charges being that he forbade the people felling trees fit for masts on their

own lands, and then accepted bribes for permission so to do. On his trial he had the powerful protection of Governor Shute, and escaped conviction. The quarrel caused by the proceeding was very great, producing "difficulties which disturbed the province for a series of years," and in consequence of which, "at last the Governor was forced to leave the province." *

Had this mistake not been made, however, and had all the conditions, save the financial, justly promised a good success, the utter failure of monetary support was enough to wreck the enterprise. And for this, while reasons are plenty, there can be found no justification. In fact, the celerity with which the English government forgot all its engagements with Hunter, so soon as he and his Palatines were out of sight, and the nonchalance with which the Ministry treated their own pledges and Hunter's appeals, make a very curious record. The action of the English authorities was nothing less than a most unprincipled breach

* Williamson's *Hist. of Maine*, ii., 94.

Barry's *Hist. of Mass.*, ii., 109.

Hutchinson's *Mass. Bay*, ii., 222.

of faith, and a shameful abandonment of a worthy servant of the crown, who was faithfully endeavoring to carry out the instructions and orders of the government. Great as was his blunder in supposing that tar and pitch could be profitably made in the valley of the Hudson, he made a greater mistake in taking for granted that the Home government was composed of honest men.

The governmental advance of £8000, with which in hand he left England, was the last monetary outlay by the government on the Palatine account. But this amount was soon exhausted in subsisting the large body of that people on Nutten Island. Before their removal to the two Camps every penny was expended, and the Governor was compelled to use his personal fortune and credit towards their support. After having settled them up the river, he wrote to the Board of Trade :

“ I hope your Lordships will think yourselves concerned to take care that what Bills I shall draw for their future subsistence, be duly comply’d with, lest by their failing the whole design prove abortive. . . . I am directed to subsist them at 6d. for all adult persons and 4d. for young persons, *per* day. . . . I compute that £15000 a

year for two successive years will be sufficient to defray the expense." *

This, it would appear, included not only the cost of subsistence, but also that of offices, salaries and all contingent expenses.

As a matter of course, when the money advanced was expended, the Governor, in reliance on the good faith of his superiors, made arrangement by bills of exchange for the immediate necessities. He also spent in this service his own entire fortune, confidently expecting reimbursement from home. Thus, with his own money he bought the land from Livingston, and from the same source drew money for the people's support, and from that time to the end of the experiment all the money spent in the work was of his providing, either from his own purse, or from loans for the payment of which he made himself responsible. His bills of exchange on London came back dishonored. The British Treasury would have none of them, and, so far as any record shows, never repaid to Hunter a single penny of the enormous sums advanced by him for the support of the enterprise. The Governor's appeals

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 180.

for relief are frequent in the correspondence, and many of them are quite pathetic. Thus, he wrote in the spring of 1712, expressing his

"uneasiness, having heard nothing from your Lordships since last summer, neither have advice of the payment of any of my bills on account of the Palatines, but go on with the work as though I had, having (as your Lordships well know) her Majesty's *commands* to that effect."

Some months later he wrote to Sec'y Popple, of the Board of Trade :

"Inform me whether they (the Treasury) have any inclination to apply the proper remedy, that I may take my measures accordingly, for I would shun, if possible, the danger of being a prisoner for life." Then again, "What I have done in that matter was by Her Majesty's special order and instructions, which shall ever be sacred to me." Again, "My credit—is exhausted, none of my bills of any kind being paid at home, and I myself reduced to very hard shifts for bare subsistence."

In one letter is a touch of bitter humor, referring to the affairs of

"the Palatines (asking your Lordships' pardon for mentioning them). . . . My Lords, I have done my best in my station and apprehend no scrutiny on earth. God, who knows my heart, will acquit me elsewhere. I have served faithfully, suffered patiently, and shall resign cheerfully whenever it shall be her Majesty's

pleasure." "I stand indebted upon that score more than I shall ever be able to pay in my life, without her Majesty's gracious assistance. . . . who suffers, if he must suffer, for having strictly observed and executed her Majesty's orders." "I have beg'd for one half of what is due on the Palatine accounts. I am sure that no man has suffered more than I have done."

He reports the amount due to him as over £20,000, while the Province owed him, for arrears of salary, £5000, and says, "My Government [*i.e.*, office as Governor] protects me from arrest, but, whilst that remains over my head, I can dream of nothing but starving in a gaol and seeing my innocent infants perish for want before my eyes." *

These quotations are made almost at random from the Governor's letters, and describe in sufficiently graphic language the evil case into which he had fallen, and one very efficient cause of the failure. In justice to the Lords of Trade it should be stated that their good offices were not lacking to the effort to secure justice for Hunter, but they were met by stubborn resistance at the Treasury and in Parliament. They write, 25th February, 1718. "You will be sure to receive all the assistance

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 305, 351, 353, 358, 366, 380, 452.

we can give you. It has not been possible to do anything in that matter, this session of Parliament."

Hunter's enemies in England used this opportunity to his great disadvantage. Not only did they succeed in obstructing the payment of his bills, but also insinuated that he was untruthful in his representations about the work. That he was mistaken in judgment is clear enough, but there is nothing in the whole transaction to show a lack of integrity on the Governor's part. On one occasion he grows furious over these insinuations and writes to Sec'y Popple :

" I have ordered Mr. Sackett and one of the Commissioners to go immediately to the woods, fell some of the prepared Trees and bring them down hither—I mean the loggs where the turpentine has settled—and I 'll have them burnt in the sight of the world, or exposed to view, that I may not be imposed upon or be thought to impose upon others."

Writing to Lord Stair in October, of 1715, he recites the story of his efforts with the project, and describes " the recommendation of the Lords of Trade for employing 3000 Palatines [as] turned into instructions by her Majesty's

letter, under her signet and sign manual," and avers that he had used such economy as to have saved £1500 a year out of the subsistence fund, to pay salaries and other expenses. "There is due to me upwards of £20,000. . . . Meanwhile I was left to beg my daily bread from a hard hearted Assembly here." Truly the poor Governor had an abundance of trouble,—and the most of it undeserved. It is reasonably certain that his motives were pure. No attack can be made on his integrity. Weiser, in speaking of the settlement of the people on the Manor, says that Hunter and Livingston delayed the consummation of the Queen's intention until land should come under their control, and "artfully and wickedly changed the course and destiny of the unsuspecting colony." This, so far as Hunter's purpose was concerned, may be set down to the not unnatural misjudgment to which the difficulties at the Manor would give rise in the mind of a Palatine.

Aside from the disastrous failure of the "great design to make tar for the Royal Navy," the administration of Hunter was with great honor and success. He took the

government in an ill time. The quarrels subsequent to the Leisler incident were still rife and bitter. Not only the politics, but the social life of New York, were rent by sharp factional fights. Both parties vied in the effort to win the special favor of the Governor, and Hunter's predecessors had erred in yielding to such persuasions. He refused to be drawn into the partisan strife, or to show preference for either party. By such prudent course, while "he found the province in a low condition, he left it peaceful and prosperous. Party spirit had been subdued and factions were reconciled. He did more to quiet the people than any, or all of his predecessors."*

Notwithstanding this wise management of the Governor, he had a chronic trouble with the provincial Assembly, on the question of support both for himself and his administration. Long before his time the colonies had learned impatience of dictation from England or the royal governors, and quarrels were constantly in progress over the matters of taxation, impost and supply. Hunter's letters to London abound with statements of these

* Schuyler's *Colonial New York*, ii., 63.

struggles, with here and there a flash of satire on the colonial disposition. He writes :

" I acquainted them [the N. Y. Assembly] with your Lordships' representation to her Majesty that the Palatines should, upon arrival here, be naturalized without Fee or Reward, but they have declined it, for no reason that I can guess but that it was recommended to them, seeing they themselves were to be the chief gainers by it." *

Sec'y Clarke describes this disposition of the Assembly in similar caustic words, " He [Hunter] has met with all the opposition and discouragement which a people devoid of duty and ripe with defection could give." In this letter of Clarke is a reference to " the Tar-work," which, in view of the issue of that enterprise and of the Governor's annoyances from the Assembly, makes something of a demand upon the reader's sympathy. The language is :

" It is almost the only satisfaction his Excellency has in this Province to see this great work goe on with that promising success it does. . . . He has the pleasure of serving the best of Queens. That, therefore, and the hopes of bringing this great affair of Pitch and Tarr to perfection he must comfort himself with."

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 184, 250.

The Governor himself says, "It is some small comfort to me that I have brought the great undertaking to all the perfection that human power or industry could do in that time."

The complete collapse of the scheme, bringing the ruin of this only comfort to the Governor, already harassed to distraction by the political turmoil of the province, moves us to a compassionate mood. His experience in America had indeed a sad issue. He struggled on through nine years full of disappointment and burdens, to which in 1716 was added the death of his wife, a climax to his afflictions harder to bear than all the rest. In the year 1719 he obtained leave of absence and went to England, thinking that his personal presence could do much in defence against his enemies at home and in obtaining justice for himself. It does not appear that the government ever repaid him. He did not return to New York, but resigned his office and retired to private life. His character cannot fail to command respect, for generosity and conscientiousness. The not unnatural irritation of affairs, and especially the staggering blow of

disappointment in the “great design of Tar,” betrayed him into some actions not to be defended ; but for the most part he carried himself with admirable dignity and self-control. There is nothing finer in the *Colonial History* than his letter to Popple, written three years after the failure.* He reviews the Palatine ventures and, maintaining that there was no mismanagement on his part, says :

“About 13 Sep. 1712, I had certain advice that none of my bills would be paid, and then I stopt short, tho too late. . . . All imaginable arts were used to stifle that project. I was sensible that I was struggling against a very *rappid* stream. But the interest of the Nation was so apparent, the reputation of those worthy Patriots who employed me was so much concerned, that I resolved to run all hazards, rather than have reason to accuse myself of having omitted any one thing in my power to bring it to perfection.”

It was a great pity that “those worthy Patriots who employed” him were not equally careful for the reputation of their servant.

The extent to which Hunter had involved himself was, especially for that day, enormous. No full accounts are accessible, if extant ; but

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 447.

the bills presented by Livingston for subsistence are suggestive that the grand total of expense was very large. The contract of Livingston covered the period from the arrival of the Palatines at the Manor, in Nov., 1710, to the break-down in Sep., 1712. His bills, presented quarterly, amount to £16,056-18-4. There are, however, three quarters, the bills for which have not been preserved, but which it is impossible to suppose were not presented. It is safe to add to the above amount £10,000 for those three quarters. Besides these large items a smaller one of £366-1-11 $\frac{1}{2}$ represents his charges for "Salary" and storage of provisions! Thus the whole sum paid to Livingston must have been over £26,000. In addition to this great sum the Governor had other expense for the Palatines, such as subsistence at New York, and transportation up the river—all of which he was compelled to meet at private cost, after the small advance from London had been exhausted. So it is evident that when he said that "upwards of £20,000" were due him, the real sum must have been largely in excess of that amount.

This failure to support Hunter and this abandonment of the enterprise by the government were so remarkable, that the reader is made curious for the reasons of so atrocious bad faith. Fortunately, these reasons are not far to seek. There are two of them: one personal and the other political. Strangely enough the personal reason found its objective, not in Governor Hunter, but in Robert Livingston, who had sold the land for the Palatine settlement and had taken the contract for the supply of bread and beer. The method, by which a personal dislike of Livingston was able to reach so far as the ruin of a great enterprise and the bankruptcy of Governor Hunter, is somewhat curious.

When the bills given by Hunter came to London they were promptly presented by the Board of Trade to the Treasury for payment. But the Lords of the Treasury, instead of honestly meeting an expense authorized by the government, delayed payment until further advisement. This advisement was sought by Lord Dartmouth of the Treasury from the Earl of Clarendon, to whom he sent the statements of Hunter, desiring the opinion of the

Earl on the whole affair.* This resort to Clarendon was doubtless because, in his chrysalis state of life as Lord Cornbury, he had been Governor of New York. It was supposed that he knew enough of the province and its forests to be able to advise. As it happened, he knew Livingston and did not love him, and was in no mood to approve anything which could issue to his advantage. Unfortunately, his dislike punished the wrong victim, for Livingston got his money, and it was the poor Governor who suffered. The Earl replied to Dartmouth :

"I think it very unhappy that Col. Hunter, on his first arrival, fell into so ill hands, for this Livingston has been known many years in the Province for a very ill man. He formerly victualled the forces at Albany, in which he was guilty of most notorious frauds. He has a Mill and Brewhouse upon his land, and, if he can get the victualling of the Palatines, he will make a very good addition to his estate."

The Earl argues that Livingston's lands are not a good selection :

"Hudson's River *above* Albany, and Mohawks River, Schenectady, are well known to be best." He objects

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 195.

that "the Bills drawn are computed on the numbers who landed at New York, of whom many are dead" [forgetful of the fact that these many had to be subsisted before they died]. "I am of the opinion that if the subsistence proposed be allowed, Levinston and some others will get estates, the Palatines will not be the richer, but will be confirmed in that laziness they are already too prone to, and will persuade themselves that they can obtain two years' more subsistence after the first two are gone."

He then goes on to ridicule the employment of the Palatines, and referring to the "Act for encouraging the importation of Naval Stores," says, "There was no fund provided for the payment of that reward, else that Act would have had a better effect than ten times the number of Palatines." So the Earl voided his hatred of Livingston in a letter sufficiently unprincipled, willing to sacrifice all other interests for the sake of thwarting that American baron. It had the effect intended in locking fast the treasury against all the appeals of Hunter and the intercessions of the Board of Trade.

The causes of Clarendon's bitterness against Livingston do not appear, nor is it easy at this late day to either justify or disprove his accus-

ations. Certainly, Livingston was one of the ablest men of his time in the colony, a most shrewd man of affairs and capable of a vast amount of work. To his discredit it must be conceded that all his energies were turned towards his own benefit and aggrandizement, though it is not clearly shown that he was ever guilty of open dishonesty.* Born in 1654 in Ancram, Scotland, the son of a clergyman, he came to America when twenty years of age. He went to Albany, and in the following year was made Town Clerk and Secretary for Indian Affairs. He held this office for fifty years. In 1683 he married Alida Schuyler, widow of Rev. Nicholas Van Renssalaer, and in 1686 laid the foundation of his enormous estate, by obtaining the Patent to the Manor from Governor Dongan. He was a prominent Jacobite in the Revolution of 1688, and was driven from the province by the Leisler party. On the downfall of Leisler he returned and was restored to his offices, to which were added those of Collector of Excise and Quit Rents, Clerk of the Peace and Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. He became associated with

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 434 note.

Bellomont and Captain Kidd, and thereby added to his fortunes. In 1701 the Leisler party returned to power in New York and called on Livingston to account for large sums of money, said to have passed through his hands, and on his failing to comply, he was deprived of his offices, and his estates were confiscated. He fled to England, but on the voyage was captured by the French and "treated barbarously." At last released, he went to London and obtained from the Queen a restoration of his offices. He returned to New York in 1709, became a member of Assembly, and in 1711 secured a repeal of the act confiscating his estates. He secured a seat in the Assembly for his own Manor in 1716, and from 1718 to 1725 served as Speaker of that body. In 1721 he resigned all his offices in Albany in favor of his son Philip, and in 1726 retired from the Assembly. Two years thereafter he died. Evidently he was a man of so unique a personality and force, that these notes of his life are quite in place here. Dr. O'Callaghan sums up his story in these words :

"A man of unquestionable shrewdness, perseverance, and large acquisitiveness. His main efforts, whether

in or out of the legislature, seem to have been directed principally to securing for himself wealth, office, and special privileges ; and every opportunity was seized by him to get the government and the legislature to recognize his Manor of Livingston."

He seems to have been an "ill man" to be associated with. None of the royal governors, save Hunter and Dongan, could get on with him. Those who had dealings with him were apt to find more or less of trouble, and even his friends spoke of him with a covert contempt. Bellomont * writes, in 1701, "I am told that Livingston has on his great grant of sixteen miles long and twenty-four broad, but four or five cottagers, men that live in vassalage under him, and are too poor to be farmers, having not wherewithal to buy Cattle to stock a farm." There was plainly something of a sting in the word "vassalage," as Bellomont designed it.

At the time of Hunter's arrangement with him about the Palatines it was openly said that "he would cheat the Governor. But there appears no indication of such action in his accounts. They are made with much particularity, such as a straightforward business

* *Col. Hist.*, iv., 822.

man would render, methodically, neatly, accurately." *

It is clear, however, that he had the best of the bargain and was the only man who received any benefit from the affair of the Palatines. In 1711, one of the agents at the Manor complained to the Governor of Livingston's grasping disposition, saying that he wanted to get into his hands the entire control of supplies, intimating also that he was endeavoring to undermine the Governor himself by whispers in high quarters and unfriendly messages sent to England. This aroused Hunter's wrath. Writing to General Nicholson, then in London, he speaks of Livingston's conduct as "base and villainous practice. . . . He is under many obligations to me, but I know him to be the most selfish man alive. If any man has any advantage by the Palatines being here, it is he." † By some means Livingston was able to appease the Governor's resentment, for we find them afterwards upon cordial terms. Whether Livingston was worthy, or not, of the condemnation of history, it is clear that the

* Schuyler's *Col. N. Y.*, i., 78.

† *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 405.

personal hatred of Clarendon towards him was a powerful, if not the most powerful, cause of the ruin of the Palatine experiment.

The other great cause of the failure obtaining in England was political. When Hunter and his Palatines left England the Whig administration, after a long lease of power, was already tottering, and before the expedition had reached America gave place to the Tories, who had no sympathy with the Palatines. In that age an incoming party did not have so much of conscience, as is supposed to exist to-day, about meeting the obligations incurred by its predecessors. Politics was a fine game to play, however the country fared and whoever paid the piper. So, when these Tories came in, everything that the outgoing Whigs had done came up for review, criticism and, if possible, reversal. As it happened, the Palatine affairs made one great subject of criticism by the Tories. The Tory mind was, at the outset, affected against the cause of those refugees and opposed to the assisting hand of the government, and the following events very soon committed them strongly against the past sympathy and all future assistance.

Before the Palatines were embarked for the colonies, murmurs of jealous discontent on the part of the poor of London began to be heard. Says Burnet, * "Some things concurred to put the vulgar into ill humor: it was a time of dearth and scarcity, so that the poor were much pinched." The aid given to the Palatines "by the Queen and voluntary charities of good people filled our own poor with great indignation, who thought that these charities, to which they had a better right, were intercepted by strangers." The House of Commons, after the accession of the Tory government, "finding the encouragement given to the Palatines so displeasing to the people, ordered a Committee to examine into the matter."

The Report of this Committee has already been noticed. It was marked by much unfairness of judgment. The blame for the wholesale immigration was laid on the Naturalization Act of 1708, a measure passed by the Whigs after the arrival of Kockerthal with the first company from the Palatinate. There can be no doubt that the act was made because of that arrival, and with the hope of

* *Hist. Own Time*, iv., 230, 258.

attracting to England still larger numbers of that distressed people. The bill

"was debated in both houses with great vehemence. The Whigs argued that it would be an effectual means to encourage industry, improve trade and manufactures, and repair the waste of men occasioned by the war. The Tories objected with many dangerous consequences. Spies and informers would come with the immigrants. The strangers would insinuate themselves into positions of trust, and would contribute to the extinction of the English race. They would greatly increase the number of our poor, already so great a burden." *

It is a curious fact that, though this act was undoubtedly passed to encourage the emigration of the Palatines, and though that people came in crowds during the next year, yet it is doubtful whether the act had anything to do with that popular movement. Very few of the Palatines sought to be naturalized in London, and probably a still smaller number of them were attracted thither by a knowledge of that act. The bait which drew them was in the tidings of the kindness shown to Kockenthal and his companions, and in the prospect of being sent to America. However, the coincidence of the act with the immigration

* Mortimer's *England*, iii., 232.

gave the Tories a trenchant weapon for attack upon the Whigs, and the House Committee made the most of it. Every objectionable feature of the matter was emphasized and exaggerated. "It happened," says Burnet, "at a bad season. Bread was at double the ordinary price. The time of sailing to the plantations was at a great distance." The sojourn in London was for eight months, with constant accessions and the depletions made by the Irish and Carolina settlements. During all this time the people were subsisted at public cost. "The poor complained that such charities went to strangers, when they needed much Some [Palatines] were both inactive and mutinous, and this heightened the outcry against them." The Tories made use of all to discredit the Whigs. Smollett (*History of England*, ii., 101, 102) says :

"The inhabitants of St. Olaves and other parishes presented a petition, complaining that a great number of Palatines, inhabiting one house, might produce a contagious distemper, and in time become a charge to the public, as they were destitute of all visible means of subsistence. This petition had been procured by the tories, that the House of Commons might have another handle for attacking the late ministry."

They managed to bring the House to a sudden vote that the Palatines were

"an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the Kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor, and of dangerous consequence to the constitution of Church and State, and whoever advised their being brought over was an enemy to the Queen and Kingdom."

The repeal of the Naturalization Act took place in 1712. The former vote of condemnation was taken in 1711, while the work on the Manor had just begun, and Hunter was already pressing for payment of his advances. To the official mind in England the entire undertaking was thus thoroughly discredited, and all its obligations were repudiated, without regard to the good faith of government or the pitiable plight of the New York Governor. It may be that, after his return to England, Hunter obtained some redress from a later administration ; but no record thereof is found in the colonial documents, nor would it be likely to there obtain statement.





CHAPTER VI.

THE PROMISED LAND.

THE letter from Hunter to Cast, written in September, 1712, saying that he had “exhausted both substance and credit,” gave the finishing stroke to the “great and good design.” Nor was the work ever resumed. The cost of it was accounted as so much money thrown away. At sundry times, through the remainder of Hunter’s government of the province, references to the scheme were made in the correspondence with the Board of Trade. The Governor laments over the failure and never loses his confidence that a noble and most beneficent success would have been achieved, had the effort been properly supported. At one time the Lords of Trade were stirred to languid interest in the subject, and inquired of Hunter as to the condition of the

trees already prepared, and the prospects of any new engagement in the work. Their letter came to Hunter as the breath of hope, and was responded to with some enthusiasm. He replied :

“ Since your Lordships have hinted an intention to resume the project, in this Province there is Pitch Pine trees enough to yield a quantity of stores sufficient for the uses of all the Navigation of England. . . . One of the Commissioners has returned. He has brought along with him some chips cut by him from several of the prepared trees, by which I may reasonably compute that about a third of the Trees will yield well. . . . I can think of no solid way of preventing the total decay of trade, and consequently the ruin of the Provinces, but by setting on foot and carrying on vigorously the production of Naval Stores mentioned.”

The Governor’s hope certainly dies hard.

In his next letter on the subject, however, he tunes a more dolorous note. Under date of October 2, 1716, he wrote :

“ I am at a loss for the true cause of the disappointment from the Trees prepared for tar. What I chiefly guess to be the cause of this miscarriage is this, that the Trees, being barked by an unskilful and unruly multitude, were for the most part pierced in the inward rind, by which means they became exhausted by the sun’s heat in the succeeding summer. Many of them are good, but not in that quantity that will answer the expence and labor.”

Then he reiterates his former statements as to the vast capabilities of the province for this production, and concludes, "but after the disappointment I have met with, I cannot advise the renewing of the project until we have persons skilled and practiced." This reads like an epitaph and moves one to sympathy with the Governor in this burial of his most cherished hope, out of which, he tells us, he had taken more comfort than from aught else in his government in America. But this is the end, and we read no more of naval stores as the expected product of New York.

Meanwhile the Palatines on the Manor recognized their freedom, and at once took steps towards making of it the best use possible. There are no records of any general plan of action, but subsequent events would indicate that the disposition of the entire company was outlined in council. Some were to stay on the Manor—a little less than one third of their number—and make for themselves permanent place; seeking subsistence from the soil and from hiring themselves to neighboring farmers. Among this number also were those—women and infirm—who did not esteem themselves

equal to further migration and to new struggles with unknown conditions. The rest of the people girded themselves for their journey to "the promised land of Scorie."

Of the quota remaining on the Manor not many notes need here to be made. They settled down to farming and such other vocations as were needed, and were the fathers of a like permanent and sturdy stock to that which for generations has peopled the lands on the west side of the river. There appears in the Documentary History (iii., 421), under date of 8 Oct. 1715, a petition to the Governor from John F. Hager, on the part of himself and sixty families of the Palatines on the Manor, asking "license to build a church in Kingsbury, 60 feet in length and 40 feet wide, to Perform Divine Service, according to the Liturgy and Rites of the Church of England as by Law established . . . also liberty to Crave the favour and charity of well-disposed People for aid and assistance." Inasmuch as this Hager was himself a clergyman—either Lutheran or Reformed, to which two forms of the Protestant faith all the Palatines adhered—it is probable that the stipulation as

to the Church of England was designed and understood as merely a legal fiction. Whatever action was taken by the Governor on this petition, the church contemplated could not have been erected, for in 1721 Governor Burnet, who succeeded Hunter in the province, issued a brief to Robt. Livingston, permitting him "to make collections for preparing or building a church on his Manor, and to call a Pious Reformed Protestant Minister from Holland." This was the beginning of the still existent Reformed Church of Germantown.

Another interesting item, is found in a "Petition of Jacob Sharpe, Christophel Haggattorn and Jacob Shoemaker, in behalf of themselves and other Palatines on the Livingston Manor," asking for a grant to them and their heirs of the lands purchased by Governor Hunter from Livingston. This petition bears date of June 13, 1724, and to it the Council replied by directing the Surveyor-General, Cadwallader Colden, to inquire what families, and how many, were on the land and willing to take His Majesty's grant. He presently reported the number of families as sixty-three, "not all having a like quantity in possession," and

recommended that it was "wise to grant the said land" to the petitioners named and other principal men, *in trust* for the whole company. Inasmuch as this land belonged to Hunter, who paid good money for it out of his own purse, one is moved to wonder if any compensation was made to him therefor. The land seems to be regarded as tho, by his departure from the province, it had escheated to the crown. It does not appear, however, that the advice of Colden was followed by the Assembly, nor do we here need to inquire farther about it.

About thirty families on the Manor moved a few miles southward and settled on lands covered by the patent given to Henry Beekman. It is said—a statement difficult to verify—that their movement was due to Livingston's unwillingness to give them titles to the lands occupied by them. He did not wish to alienate the fee, and would only agree to a lease for three lives. This, of course, must refer to such of the people as had sought a freehold outside of the tract purchased by Hunter, unless Livingston, after Hunter's departure, had attempted to assert a right over that tract.

These thirty families found a more liberal disposition in Henry Beekman, who sold them lands in fee, in that part of his patent which is covered by the town of Rhinebeck. The name of that town is distinctly Palatine, as in its first syllable a memorial of the much-loved river in the old country. As the last syllable was formerly written, "beek," it has been thought to have been taken from the name of Beekman, in honor of his fair dealings with these people.

Whatever may have been the difficulty on the land question, or the origin of the latter half of "Rhinebeck," it is certain that that town was founded by these Palatines, many of whose names still obtain in the locality. From Rhinebeck also the descendants of these people found various and scattered homes throughout Dutchess County, and have given to the State and nation many men of prominence and usefulness.

Those of the people who went to the Schoharie valley had for several years an experience of further affliction. Some writers have charged these troubles to their ignorance; but beyond denial the origin of them is found in

the anger of the Governor and the cupidity of designing men, to whom the Governor, in the first heat of his resentment, surrendered them as victims. The chief man among them, John Conrad Weiser, educated and an ex-magistrate, cannot be reckoned as an ignorant person. However "riotous and rebellious" he may have been in resisting the Governor and his agents, he was not likely to sacrifice the interests of his people through sheer ignorance of common law.

As already noted several times in this narrative, the thought of the supposed original destination of the Palatines had not lost its charm to the minds of very many of them. To all remonstrances and arguments of the Governor and Cast they answered with one word—Schoharie. They called it, "Schorie." This to them was the land of promise. They talked of Schorie; they dreamed of Schorie, and to Schorie would they go. In their last winter on the Manor they had planned for ways to reach that country of blessing, and through the following spring and summer waited for fitting opportunity to put their plans in operation. They must proceed with caution, as

any general or large migration, while the tar-work was in progress, would be promptly checked by the military kept at the Manor to compel the submission of the people. Even individual deserters were brought back and punished.

Thus waiting, they hailed the order to cease the work and for the people to shift for themselves, as a proclamation of freedom. They at once despatched to Schoharie seven deputies—principal men among them—and the “List men,” of the villages, of whom Weiser was chief. These men were to visit the valley, examine its land, deal with the Indians in the neighborhood, and find the best route for the people to take thither. The visit of these deputies must have been made in the early fall, and according to their own report they were received by the Indians in the valley with the utmost friendliness.

Brown * says—a statement probably drawn from tradition, for he gives no authority—that the first inhabitant of the Schoharie valley was a French Indian, Karigondonte, who had married a Mohawk squaw, in consequence whereof

* *Sketch of Schoharie*, p. 52.

he was forced to leave his tribe. He took possession of the Schoharie valley and seems to have established there a sort of Cave Adullam, attracting thither from the surrounding tribes "such as were discontented and such as were in debt." Presently, he had gathered about him "a nation three hundred strong," which took the name of their chief, and was made up of Mohawks, Mohegans, Discororas, and Delawares.

That section of the valley occupied by these Indians and given to the Palatines, afterwards described as the Schoharie Flats,

"began on the Little Schoharie Creek, in the present town of Middleburg, at the high-water mark of the Schoharie river, and at an oak stump burned hollow—which stump is said to have served the Mohawk and Stockbridge Indians as a corn-mill—and ran down the river to the north, on both sides, a distance of ten miles, and containing about twenty thousand acres. By the side of this stump was erected a pile of stones, still standing after 1800. Upon the stump were cut the figures of a turtle and a snake, the sign of the Karighondonte tribe, as a seal of the contract."

Sims,* from whose history the above quotation is taken, represents this contract as one made

* *Hist. of Schoharie Co.*, p. 47.

by the Indians with "an agent of the Queen, to prevent hostilities between them and the Germans." This, as we know, is a mistake. No agent of the Queen made such a contract. On the contrary, all the Queen's representatives in the province, who had any relation to the matter, did their best to prevent the Palatines going to Schoharie, and, after they had gone thither, to render residence there as uncomfortable as possible. If there was any such stump and any seal of contract engraved thereon, the "party of the second part" must have been, not the Queen's agent, but the Palatine deputies from the Manor.

These seven "Chiefs,"—as they are termed in some parts of the narrative,—headed by Weiser, proceeded on their mission by way of Albany, and there obtained an Indian guide. He led them over the Helderbergs and down the Fox Creek to its junction with the Schoharie, in the very heart of their chosen valley. Entering it in the early fall, they must at once have realized that their dreams had not played them false, for certainly fairer sight their eyes had not beheld since they left their old country on the Rhine. It is a deep valley, where the

copious dews from April to October make a constant and luxuriant verdure. The hills on either side, here sloping gently upward, and there standing in bold bulk of precipitous rock, seemed to promise bulwarks of defence and protection from further foes. The broad alluvial flats prophesied plenty on the farms that were to be, while the river, like a broad silver ribbon, wound its way among the level meadows, its full and quiet flood an image of contented peace.

The Palatine statement tells of most hospitable treatment of the deputies by the Indians. The deputies "intreated them [the Indians] to give 'em permission to settle on the tract of land called Schorie." This the Indians readily granted, saying that "they had formerly given this land to Queen Anne for them." This last statement provokes a smile, for whatever may be the truth about that gift to the Queen, it is pretty certain that the company of Karigondonte had nothing to do with it. However, he and his nondescript tribe seem to have had the friendliest disposition.

When the deputies returned to the Manor and made report of the welcome extended, "it

put the people in heart. All hands fell to work, and in 2 weeks' time cleared a way thro' the woods of 15 miles long, with the utmost toyle and labour." The locality of this "way thro' the woods" is somewhat uncertain, tho it is probably to be found near the end of the journey, and not at the beginning, as the narrative would imply. The unbroken wilderness, through which the pioneer's axe must make a road, was rather on the Helderbergs than on the bank of the Hudson. The migration of the people was in two companies. The first company was composed of fifty families, which, so soon as possible after the return of the deputies, set out upon the journey. Whether they travelled by boats to Albany or trooped the way on foot the "statement" does not tell. It was doubtless a sorry-looking company and poorly furnished, appealing in the poverty of their resources to the charity of the good people of Albany. And in the immediately subsequent months, their need received much help, not only from the Dutch in Albany, but also from the Consistory of the Dutch Church in the city of New York.

Hardly was the toilsome journey over before

a new and different trouble began, the tale of which beginning may best be told in their own words :

“ Being arrived and almost settled, they received orders from the Gov^{our} not to goe upon the land, and he who did so should be declared a Rebell. . . . This Message sounded like thunder in their ears and surprised them beyond expression ; but having seriously weighed matters amongst themselves, and finding no manner of like-lihood of subsisting elsewhere, but a Certainty of perishing by hunger, cold, etc., if they returned, they found themselves under the fatall necessity of hazarding the Gov^{ur} Re-sentment, that being to all more eligible than Starving.*

|It does not appear why the Governor should have sent this order, or have had any just objection to the settlement in Schoharie. Certainly, in his message abandoning the “tar-work,” he had told the people to shift for themselves, and had only limited their choice of location to the two provinces of New York and New Jersey. He had, indeed, required that those who left the Manor should obtain tickets of leave, and this formality, probably, the people did not observe. Nothing, however, is said about such dereliction, tho it is clear

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 425.

that the people departed without asking the Governor's permission to go to Schoharie. The whole aspect of the movement to his mind was of a refractory body withdrawing from under his immediate eye and authority, and going behind the barriers of forest into a retired valley, whither the obligations of the contract could not easily follow them. He was apprehensive lest, if that precious project should be resumed, he might not be able from that distance to bring his workers. Besides, and fully so powerful, was a sentimental consideration: that for two years that "tract of land called Schorie" had been as a bone of contention between him and the Palatines. They, like Israel in Egypt, had been incessantly crying, "Let us go;" and he as constantly replying, "I will not let you go." And now the Governor saw himself outwitted, more by the hardness of events than by the cunning of the people; and yet, however brought about, a thing to be resented. There was much injustice in the Governor's thought, and more in his subsequent conduct, and yet it is quite intelligible that, with all his soreness of spirit over the great failure, and his irritation at the

self-determined methods of the Palatines, he should resolve that, whatever happened, they should not possess that coveted valley.

But for the present he was powerless. The first band of the emigrants had reached the Schoharie, and the winter had closed in upon them. Nor in any case could the Governor drive them out by force. We shall see that he adopted other means, far more worrying.

) In the meantime the settlers suffered many privations through the winter. The "barbarous people showed them no little kindness," and out of their own scanty stores of maize gave freely to them. Young Weiser writes: "They broke ground enough (in the spring) to plant corn for the use of the next year. But this year our hunger was hardly endurable." The Indians showed them where to find many edible roots. "Many of our feasts were of wild potatoes (oehmanada) and ground-beans (otagraquam)." In the opening spring the other company, about one hundred families, made their way to the valley. The quaint narrative says:

"In the same year in March (1713) did the remainder of the people (tho treated by the Governor as Pharaoh

treated the Israelites) proceed on their journey, and by God's Assistance travell'd in [a] fournight with sledges thro' the snow, which there covered the ground above 3 foot deep, cold and hunger, Joyn'd their friends and countrymen in the promised land of Schorie."

[This comparison of Hunter to Pharaoh may allude to some unrecorded actions of the Governor by which he essayed to detain the people on the Manor. If so, the determined migration served to add to his resentment. He had time to lay his plans while the people made their settlements.

They disposed themselves in seven villages—dorps or dorfs—along the Schoharie, naming each from one of their seven chiefs. Of these the more considerable were Weiser's dorp, in the present Middleburgh; Fuchs's dorp (afterwards anglicized to Fox), at the junction of the Fox Creek with the Schoharie; and Kniskern's dorp at the mouth of the Cobleskill. On the site of the present Court House village was an eighth hamlet called Brunnen dorp, from the springs in the hill-side, and from which the hamlet was afterwards called Fountaintown. At Fuchs's dorp was the centre of the settlement. On the Fox Creek was built the first

mill which freed the people from carrying their grain to Schenectady. It was at the Fuchs's dorp that the people gathered for Sunday worship ; and on the slighty bluff, which divides the Fox from the Schoharie, was, in 1772, built the Old Stone Church—or Fort—which still stands, one of the most picturesque historic buildings in the State.

The people had not long been in Schoharie and were still suffering through the privations incident to their new settlement, when the first of their troubles about their lands was put upon them by the son of the Colonel Nicholas Bayard, who, about twenty-five years before this time, had received from Governor Fletcher a patent to a "certain tract of land called Skohare, beginning at the mouth of the Skohare river and runs to head of said river."* Inasmuch as the Schoharie is about fifty miles long, this Bayard patent may well be rated among the "extravagant grants" given by Fletcher.† Colden describes this governor's "liberal hands, with which he gave away lands. The most extraordinary favors of former governors were but petty grants in comparison with his." We

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 634.

† *Doc. Hist.*, i., 250.

are not to understand that these grants by Fletcher were given without "a consideration." He was notoriously corrupt.* Bellomont wrote, in 1701, "I believe not less than seven millions of acres were granted in thirteen grants, and all uninhabited except Mr. Ranslear's." He said also that Fletcher had made a fortune of £30,000 by his corrupt practices.

The London Board of Trade was alarmed by this extravagance of Fletcher and laid the matter for advice before the Lords Justices of England, who declared such grants improper and that they should be annulled. Bellomont was instructed to obtain from the provincial Assembly an act voiding all the grant patents issued by Fletcher. As already noted, such act was passed in 1698, and Colonel Bayard lost his immense estate. On several occasions efforts were made to get this act repealed—and several petitions of Samuel Bayard are preserved, requesting to be restored to his father's lands.

What this Bayard expected to realize among the Palatines is not quite clear, but there can be no doubt that his scheme was not charged

* *Col. Hist.*, iv., 822, 826.

with beneficence to the new settlers. Sims and others speak of him as "an agent of the Queen." Their account runs that he came to Schoharie and published a notice "to every householder, who would make known the boundaries of land taken by him, that he would give a deed in the name of the Sovereign."* The statement is absurd. Bayard could not have been an agent of the Queen. He was not in government favor in the province, and had no relations to the government in England, while all the properly accredited agents of the Queen and the home government were distinctly unfriendly to the Palatines and in no mood to arrange that their titles to the Schoharie lands should be made clear. The story quoted proceeds to say that the Palatines were enraged at Bayard, supposing that he had come in the interest of their oppressors, and mobbed him, driving him out of the valley; that he went to Schenectady, and thence sent back a message to Schoharie, "offering to give to such as should appear there with a single ear of corn, acknowledge him as royal agent, and name

* Sims, *Schohaire Co.*, p. 60.

the bounds of it [their land], a free deed and lasting title." It appears that Bayard's patience and generosity were extensive after such treatment as he had received. But they were not proof against the contemptuous refusal of the Palatines to take any notice of this offer, for the tale concludes that, since nobody from Schoharie appeared to take advantage of his kindness, he went to Albany and sold the lands to Myndert Schuyler, Peter van Brugh, Robert Livingston Jr., John Schuyler, and Henry Wileman. These gentlemen did, indeed, come into possession of titles to Schoharie, but not by means of such purchase from Bayard.

The reflection upon this story by those who record it for sober history is that the hostile action of the Palatines was due to their ignorance, in consequence of which they deprived themselves of secure titles and brought on all their subsequent troubles. But we may set that aside as quite impossible, for Weiser and the chiefs were intelligent men, and undoubtedly judged correctly that Bayard's mission was not of a friendly nature, and that any titles taken from him would be of no value.

It is far more probable that, in place of offering them titles from the Queen, Bayard planned to practise upon their supposed ignorance, and on the ground of his father's annulled patent to induce them to either buy or take leases from himself. Nor can we suppose that the "Gentlemen of Albany," who were afterwards called the "Five Partners," were ignorant enough to buy from Bayard land which had been taken from him by legislative enactment. They took their title from under the hand of Gov. Hunter, tho it may be that the suggestions of Bayard had something to do with their application.*

Bayard had not long disappeared from the valley, when another claimant to Schoharie lands came on the scene, in the person of Adam Vroman, of Schenectady. The land to which he had title was situated well up the valley, embracing the most of what is now the township of Middleburgh. His patent is still outlined on the county maps, and he has a more enduring monument in

* This Bayard was in some way connected with the Leisler Rebellion in New York, was tried for high treason and condemned to death, but was pardoned. Cornbury declared that the action against him was very unjust (*Col. Hist.*, iv., 974).

the name of one of the mountains at its side, a bold, high, and rocky headland, called Vroman's Nose, jutting out into the Flat and dominating the valley for miles, both south and north. He is said to have purchased his lands from the Indians in 1711, but his chief reliance for title rests on the patent given by Gov. Hunter in August, 1714—a date eighteen months later than the Schoharie migration of the Palatines.

Vroman came to take possession of this land in the year after the issuance of the patent, and had a rather hard time of it, as appears from his complaint to the Governor. We can let him tell his story in his own words, which were written at Schenectady, "9 July 1715. In hast." He writes, "The Palatines threatened in a rebellious manner, if I should build or manure the Land at Schore that your Excellency was pleased to grant me a Patent for." He had manured and sowed some of the land, and "they still drove their horses on it at night." He was

"building a stone house 23 feet square and so high so I had Layd the Beames of the Chamber, they had a Contryvance to tie bells about horses' necks and drive them

to and fro. In which time they pulled my house Stones and all to the Ground. . . . They used such rebellious expressions that was never heard of. . . . John Conradus Wiser has been the Ring Leader of all factions. . . . They made the Indians drunk to that degree to go and mark off land with them. . . . I am no wayes secure of my life. They went and pulled my son off of the waggon and beat him and said they would kill him or his father or any body else who came their. . . . Wiser and two or three more has made their escape by way of Boston and have said they would go for England, but has left his Son which is their Interpreter to the Indians and every day tells the Indians many Lyes, whereby much mischief may ensue more than we now think off and is much to be feared . . . I don't find a Great many Concerned with this Wiser and his son in their disobedient, unlawful, and Rebellious proceedings . . . Those that are good subjects among them and will not Joyn with them are afraid the others will Burn their houses down by their threatening words."

They must have been hot words indeed.

One can have considerable compassion for Vroman in this evil case, without at the same time condemning very severely the conduct of Weiser and his companions. Their proceedings were, of course, irregular and unlawful, but they were the only means left to them for defending what they not unjustly considered

their rights. They knew that no complaints of invasion on those rights would be entertained by the Governor for a moment. They perceived that the Vroman patent was but one item in a plan to deprive them of all hope of possession in their promised land. So in the absence of any friend at court, without any legal title to the land they had occupied, but which they believed to be morally their own, they adopted the policy of worrying and frightening off the intruders. It was a weak policy, but all they could adopt. Nor did it succeed. The Dutch blood of the Vromans had too much staying quality for that.

One other measure, indeed, they did attempt —a purchase on their own account from the Indians. Their “statement of Grievances” relates that, when some people from Albany endeavored to obtain land “round them so as to close them up,” they themselves “bought the rest of the land at Schorie, being woods, Rocks and pasturidg, for 300 pieces of eight.” This is the transaction to which the complaint of Vroman alludes, “getting the Indians drunk so as to mark off land with them.” The younger Weiser speaks of this purchase for

three hundred dollars, as tho that sum were paid for the entire valley, and on the visit of the deputies to the Indians.

But neither this purchase nor the persecution of Vroman aided them. They were evidently the victims of the Governor's resentful purpose to leave them not a foot of ground to stand upon in Schoharie. There is no injustice to Hunter in so speaking. However inconsistent with his general character this conduct of the Governor was, it yet finds plenty of evidence. Beyond question the right thing for him to have done under the circumstances was to give to the Palatines land in Schoharie. They had come over under a contract, part of which promised to them land, and the failure of the tar project through no fault of theirs did not absolve the government from its promise to give them forty acres for each family. Besides, whatever may have been the foundation in fact for the Palatine dream of Schoharie, it is certain that others than themselves considered that valley as their destined place. Hunter himself admitted this, but alleged the difficulty of tar-making in that locality as a reason for settling them on the Hudson.

When, therefore, that design was abandoned, and a large majority of the Palatines had found their way to Schoharie, the only proper thing for Hunter to do, was to confirm them in possession, if not of the whole valley, at least of so much acreage as would satisfy the conditions of the contract.

But the fact was that the Governor did not exercise a judicial mind. He seems to have visited on the poor Palatines all his wrath because of the great failure, for which they were in no wise to blame. He should have visited his anger on the British Treasury; and on Clarendon, who involved Hunter in his hatred of Livingston; and perhaps on Livingston, who may have cheated him and certainly did get all the profit there was in the business for anybody. The Palatines he should have acquitted of blame and settled them peacefully and undisturbed. Instead, he pursued a course alike reprehensible and unworthy of himself. Perhaps it would not be correct to say, that the course of events, by which the Palatines found settlement at Schoharie difficult and more than half of them were driven from the valley, was in consequence of any prearranged

plan of the Governor. At the same time it is clear enough that he did not hesitate to embrace the opportunity offered by the cupidity of land-grabbers to make his spite against that people effective. This situation is well expressed by E. M. Smith—the only writer who seems to have formed a correct judgment of these transactions—in his *History of Rhinebeck*. He there says : *

“ There was evidently a purpose, favored by Gov. Hunter, that the land of Schoharie, which they claimed and whether they had gone, should not be owned by these people, but that it should be owned by some non-resident favorites, perhaps for a personal consideration, to whom they should for ever remain mere ‘ hewers of wood and drawers of water.’ ”

This conclusion is fully justified on careful comparison of dates. Thus the voiding of the Bayard grant took place in 1698, from which time, whether with or without the ground of an Indian gift, the lands were looked upon as belonging to the Queen. Until the entrance of the Palatines in the late fall of 1712, no white man had attempted possession and no claim of ownership had been asserted, unless

* p. 91.

we except the possible purchase from the Indians of a portion of the lands by Vroman in 1711. On any right so acquired, however, it is significant that Vroman himself does not lay stress, but founds his title on the patent given by Hunter in the summer of 1714. This was a year and a half after the Palatines had gone to the valley.* The Vroman patent covered the lands of Weiser's dorp, and also those of Ober-Weiser's dorp, another hamlet soon established at a little distance up the stream. There is not much of detraction from the sinister quality of this grant in the fact that Vroman's petition for the grant was made a year before the patent issued. That also was subsequent to the Palatine occupation, by several months; and one needs not to draw severely on imagination to suppose, that the Palatine entrance was the means of turning the attention and cupidity of Vroman towards Schoharie. But, however that may be, there is no doubt that Hunter gave to Vroman lands which he knew were already in

* For dates of Petitions and Patents for Land, here alluded to, see "Calendar of N. Y. Land Papers," pp., 142-182. The Papers are in vols. v.-x., of "Land Papers" in the office of the Secretary of State.

possession of the Palatines. To suppose that Vroman paid him for the lands, as the Palatines were unable to do, is only to add the charge of corruption to that of cruelty. The only pecuniary condition for a patent allowed by law was the payment of an annual Quit Rent to the crown, whatever may have been done by way of purchase from the Indians. Hunter was an honest man, and we cannot suppose him guilty of those practices which disgraced his predecessor, Fletcher. Undoubtedly, beyond extinguishing the Indian title, and the clerical fees, Vroman paid nothing for his patent. As to the necessary Quit Rents, the Palatines would have engaged for those as readily as he. There can be no reason, save that of the Governor's pleasure, for the preference of Vroman to the Palatines. Vroman did not attempt to enter on possession until more than two years after the people had settled on the lands.

But this is not all. Whatever may have been the nature of the transactions between Bayard and the "Five Partners," those gentlemen did not consider their title secured, save by a patent from under the Gov-

ernor's hand. Their petition was presented in May, 1714, and the patent was issued in the following November. "The patent began at the northern limit of Vroman's patent on the west side, and at the Little Schoharie kill on the east side, and ran north on both sides of the river to beyond the Coble's Kill."* This finished the legal expulsion of the Palatines begun by the Vroman patent. The two patents together granted away from them the ground upon which they had built their houses and every foot of land which they had broken for seed. The action would seem to justify the language of Weiser, "as the hawk pounces on the dove cote, these powerful parties fell on the victims."

There appears under date of the same November a license to "Samuel Staats and Rip Van Dam to purchase 2000 acres each at a place called Foxes Creek in the county of Albany." Foxes Creek was an affluent of the Schoharie and the "place" is near to Fuchs's dorp at the junction of the two streams. There is no record of a patent having been issued for the described purchase, but we hear

* Sims's *Schoharie Co.*

of it again in an application to the Governor by Philip Schuyler,* "for himself and the rest of the heirs of Dr. Staats," for a license to purchase lands at Schoharie. This application was made in 1716. In the next year a survey was ordered for Rip van Dam and Philip Schuyler "for himself." What became of "the rest of the heirs" does not appear. Nor does it appear that these two men ever came into possession of Schoharie lands. The items are noted as suggestive of the kind of discipline the Palatines were being subjected to.

A more notable suggestion is found in a record that in 1716, Feb. 10, John Christ Gerlach petitioned for license to purchase 150 acres of vacant and unappropriated lands at Schoharie. This Gerlach was probably of the family of the head man of Garloch's drop. No action was taken on this petition, and no license granted. It begins to be evident that with the Governor's good-will no Palatine should secure a title in Schoharie.

Schuyler writes that there was also a patent for land in Schoharie valley issued to Governor Hunter and called Huntersfield. This

* Schuyler's *Col. N. Y.*, ii., 433.

does not appear among the "Land Papers," but the name Huntersfield obtained for a portion of the valley between the present villages of Middleburgh and Schoharie, and was in frequent use until within the memory of men now living. How the name could originate without such patent, or whether the name, arising in some other way, gave currency to the statement that the patent existed, are questions that need not detain us.

Not until more than five years after Hunter's return to England does it appear that any Palatine obtained title to land in the valley, save by purchase from the five partners. Then, in 1725, "William York and Lewis York, Palatines," obtained a warrant of survey for 600 acres, south of the Vroman and Schuyler patents. Possibly an exception to this statement exists in the record that Godfreid De Wolven, undoubtedly a Palatine, in May, 1722, petitioned for a grant of "150 acres of the land lying vacant and unappropriated in this province." Within sixty days he received both a warrant of survey and a certificate for "150 acres in the County of Albany." This entry does not show that De

Wolven's land was at Schoharie, tho there is nothing to indicate to the contrary, the valley of Schoharie being at that time part of Albany County.

One other land patent remains to be noted. This, after several petitions and warrants, was finally granted to Lewis Morris, Jr., and Andries Coeymans. These men, from New York, discovered that the lands along Fox Creek were not included in the patent of the five partners, and at once applied for them. The land was the same as that applied for, but not obtained by Van Dam and Philip Schuyler. For some reason, Morris and Coeymans were more successful. They secured the title in 1726, and at once made common cause with the five "Gentlemen of Albany." The two companies together were thereafter spoken of as the "Seven Partners." We should note, however, that this union of the companies did not occur until the dispute with the Palatines was practically over. A large portion of that people had already retired from the valley, while those who remained had settled their minds to make the best of the situation without further contention.

A curious item in the Land Papers is a "List of names to be inserted in the Patent for Lawyer's purchase at Schoharie, containing by estimation about 40,000 acres." This bears date of June, 1723. It is impossible to identify such purchase, tho in the next few years purchases by Lawyers—all Palatines—are noted as being allowed by the government. The estimate of acreage is absurdly exaggerated. But this, and the following records referred to, show the change of disposition towards the Palatines which had come to the gubernatorial mind after Hunter's departure.

From the grants given by Hunter, we perceive that all that portion of the valley occupied by the Palatines was so deeded away from them, that they could retain the meadows they had broken and the homes they had builded only by purchase or lease from a company of land-grabbers. There were involved in this the most unscrupulous greed, and the most inexcusable oppression recorded of colonial times. Had not Hunter's disappointment and anger so blinded him, he could never have set his hand to instruments of

such injustice. So doing was altogether unlike his better self.

The character of these transactions has rarely been understood. The Palatines have been represented as squatting on lands which did not belong to them, and refusing to pay either purchase-money or rent to the rightful owners. This is true only by a legal fiction. The Palatines should have been the legal owners. The legal title was originated by the Governor's patent, which should have issued to the Palatines. There was no reason, other than the Governor's will to harass that people, for the granting said patents to the five partners. They are also described as "riotous, turbulent, and rebellious," when in fact they were simply contending for the right to live as freemen. For fifteen years from the day of their landing on Nutten Island they were forced to struggle for their rights against tremendous odds. It is true that for the first two years the government subsisted them, but at the same time, while doling out this "charity" with one hand, the authorities were with the other pressing upon them with no little severity. In the end, the people

never obtained what they regarded, and we also must regard, as their just due. Those who remained in Schoharie were compelled at last to purchase their titles from the partners, while the majority, wearying of the struggle and too high-spirited to yield to the demands of the usurpers, departed from the land which had broken its promise to their hope.

There can be little doubt as to the rise of their trouble. So large a settlement as that at the Manor must have drawn the attention of the entire colony, a regard more interested because of the peculiar relation of the government to the settlers. When the "design" broke down and this body of Palatines, at least seven hundred strong, passed up the river and through Albany, on their way to "the land of promise," curiosity was at once excited as to the quality of that valley which had exerted such magnetic power. The Palatines were the real openers of the valley and by going thither advertised it to the notice of the "Gentlemen at Albany," who early discovered both the Palatines' lack of title and the Governor's resentful temper. Thus the former

became an easy prey and the latter most supple an instrument for their greed. One reading the disgraceful tale can but dwell upon the pity of the fact that, while the Governor could justly claim the protection and guidance of the Queen's command in all the business of the tar, he should so completely have forgotten her other command, to have special concern for "the comfort and advantage of the Palatines." In 1718, he made a statement of the situation, which he knew to be false, to the effect that the people "went and took possession of Lands granted to several persons at New York and Albany Against repeated Orders." This was written to the Board of Trade as an offset to the "Statement of Grievances," which Weiser had presented in petition to the king. Hardly any statement could be more disingenuous. Taken as Hunter meant it to be understood, it justified all the afflictions of the Palatines; while taken as the succession of events required, it condemned every action against them.* In the same letter the Governor says :

"In compassion to the Innocent Women and children I prevailed with the proprietors of these lands to make

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 422; *Col. Hist.*, v., 509.

them an offer of the Lands, free from all rent or acknowledgment for ten years, and ever after at a very moderate Quit Rent. The Majority accepted the conditions, but durst not, or could not, execute the agreement for fear of the rest."

The Governor then proposes to move the people again, and settle them "on a great tract of land, very remote on the Frontiers, formerly granted to Dominie Dellius, of fifty miles square, and resumed by Act of Assembly." Of this proposed removal we shall hear again.

Meanwhile the "Five Partners" proceeded to assert their rights to the lands which the Palatines had occupied. They informed the poor people, that they had obtained the land from the Governor, and that all living upon it must either buy or lease their holdings, and that such as were unwilling to do either must leave the valley altogether. The reply of the Palatines was that the lands of Schoharie had been set apart for them by Queen Anne, and that now it was the King's, and they could not "agree with any body about the King's land." This was sufficiently explicit, but not satisfactory to the "Gentlemen of Albany," who promptly made their appeal to the courts.

However inequitable or unjust their claim, yet their legal title was clearly defined, and the court could do no otherwise than to enforce it. In consequence of the orders of court, Sheriff Adams of Albany County, presently appeared in Schoharie, provided with appropriate legal documents, to summons the recusant settlers, to "affix papers on the land," and to arrest the more turbulent of the people. Among his papers was a special warrant, addressed to the Justices of the Counties of Albany and Dutchess, for the arrest of "John Conrade Wiser," who is described as "a Covenanted Servant of his Majesty, who has been Guilty of Several Mutinous, Riotous, and other disobedient and illegal practices, now skulking in your County to avoid punishment."

It was unfortunate for the sheriff that he had not provided himself with a *posse* as well as with papers, for the people showed no respect for his papers, and in the absence of defenders wrought a very rough will upon him.

The chief culprit, Weiser, had disappeared, but Adams undertook the arrest of the others. The first attempt, made at Weiser's dorp, brought on a riot in which the women took

vigorous and leading part. Led by Magdalena Zeh, the women attacked the sheriff, knocked him down and beat him ; then they dragged him through the nastiest puddles of their barn-yards, and, putting him on a rail, "rode him skimington" through the settlements, a distance of seven miles or more, and finally left him, with two broken ribs, on a bridge well out on the road to Albany. So tradition, as recorded by Sims, enters into detail. Very likely the story is exaggerated, tho so far as the female actors are concerned it may easily find belief. The Palatine women were stalwart as the famous "women of Marblehead." It was no uncommon thing for them, while as yet for two or three years no mill was built at Schoharie, to carry on their backs their corn to the mill at Schenectady, going thither and returning in one day.

When the sheriff returned to Albany and reported to the partners, they were at a loss for further proceedings which might be effective. For a while they pursued a policy of silence and left the people unmolested, refraining from further coercive measures until the Governor should come to Albany. This visit

of Hunter was made in 1717, for the double purpose of holding a conference with the Indians and settling this business of the Palatines. He sent orders to Schoharie for a deputation of three men from each village to meet him at Albany, and particularly that Captain Weiser should be of the deputation. Inasmuch as the Governor had publicly said that he would hang Weiser, if he got hold of him, very naturally the captain did not present himself with the deputies. The others appeared before the Governor and were sharply rated for their refractory conduct. There is a series of three questions and answers very succinctly put in the Palatine Statement, which shows that in the encounter of wits they got the better of the Governor.

He asked the deputies :

1. Why they went to Schoharie without his orders ?
2. Why they did not agree with the Gentlemen of Albany ? and
3. Why they concerned themselves so much with the Indians ?

To these the deputies replied :

1. The Governor had told them to shift for

themselves, and they were compelled to go somewhere and do something.

2. The demands of the Albany Gentlemen were extravagant—while the Palatines had received the lands from the King. If they served anybody, it must be the King, and not private persons.

3. It was necessary for them on that exposed frontier, to be in good terms with the Indians as a protection against the French and hostile Indians.

Clearly the deputies had the best of the argument, but this availed nothing with the Governor, who finished the hearing by sharply commanding them to either agree with the Albany Gentlemen or leave the valley, and forbidding them to plow and sow the ground until the necessary agreement with the five partners had been made. With this the deputies returned to Schoharie and Hunter to New York. In the following winter—no agreement with the partners having been made—the people sent three men to New York to ask permission from the Governor to plow the lands in the coming spring. The “Statement” represents the Governor as replying to this

request, in a Pilate-like brevity, "What is said, is said." Then in its amusingly pathetic grandiose style, the account goes on :

"This was a thunder-clap in the ears of their Wifes and children and the lamentation of all the people increased to such a hight, and their necessity grew so great, that they were forced for their own preservation to transgress those orders, and sow some summer corn and fruits or else they must have starved."

There is in a letter of Sec'y Clarke to Mr. Walpole, written in November of 1722,* an almost open confession that in these and previous proceedings the Palatines had been treated with injustice. He refers to a form of certificate sent by Hunter, after his return to England, for the signatures of the Palatines. It will be remembered that one reason of Hunter's return home was that he might prosecute his claim for reimbursement for advances on the Palatine account. There the Lords of the Treasury demanded as vouchers, not only the receipts of Livingston for the monseys paid, but the acknowledgment of the Palatines themselves, that they had been subsisted according to contract and the Queen's orders.

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 429.

But such certificate they were, as the Secretary says, "most unwilling to sign, fearing new snares and contracts." He notes that a great many of them had already purchased land in Pennsylvania and were determined to go thither; and concludes, "Thus the Brigader is baulked, and this province deprived of a good frontier of hardy and Laborious people. His claim is Just, his request reasonable, but that threatening manner of proceeding has injured him beyond expression." There can be no doubt that, had Hunter pursued a just course towards the Palatines, they would not have denied him the certificate demanded, and himself would have come nearer to just treatment by the Treasury.

In the spring of 1718, when the people found themselves "forced to sow some summer corn and fruits," they came to the conclusion that neither kindness nor justice was to be expected from the Governor or the Gentlemen of Albany, and that appeal must be made to a higher power. To this end they appointed three of their best men to go to London and lay their grievances before the King. Their statement, from which copious quotations have

already been made, was probably written by the elder Weiser. Tho amusing by its quaint turgidity and also overstrained by the bias of the writer, it gives marked token of intellectual power. No ignorant hand put together that effective document, which is both logical and graphic, and allowing for the exaggeration of style, adheres much more closely to the truth than did Governor Hunter. This appeal to the justice and kindness of King George was carried to London by Weiser, Scheff, and Walrath. These two companions of Weiser find mention only in connection with this mission. Walrath died in London, before the mission was completed. Scheff, after Walrath's death, quarrelled with Weiser and returned to America in 1721, and six months after his arrival died in New York city.

The departure of the deputies from Schoharie had to be by stealth. Probably Weiser had disappeared from the valley several months before, and was joined by his companions at some place on the route to Philadelphia. From that city they set sail for England ; but their ship had hardly issued from between the Capes,

when it was taken by "pirates." These seem to have been milder-mannered men than the average of the sea-rovers. They neither scuttled the ship nor cut a throat, preferring robbery without murder and wreck. They stripped the ship of everything valuable, leaving to its crew and passengers only clothing sufficient for their nakedness and food to subsist them until they could reach Boston. They took the money of the Palatine deputies, and, not regarding it as enough, triced up Weiser and scourged him to compel a confession of a hidden purse. This discipline was suffered three times, when at last the pirates were induced to believe Scheff's tearful protestations, that the entire money of the company was in the purse taken from himself. When released by the robbers, the ship sailed to Boston and thence, being resupplied, resumed its voyage to England. Weiser and his companions reached London absolutely penniless. They sent home for such remittances as their friends could forward, and meanwhile had to live as best they could on kindness and credit. These did not stead them very long, the hoped-for supply of funds from America was delayed,

and the poor unfortunates were thrown into the debtor's prison. There they suffered great misery, in the midst of which, and by force of which, Walrath died. To this also may be attributed the death of Scheff, a few months after his liberation.

In their prison the deputies found means of reaching the ears of the authorities on the matters of their mission. Their petition was presented to the government and, apparently, was referred to the Lords of Trade for consideration and the advisement of the King. In response the Board of Trade made a comment of some length.* They recite that, under the terms of settlement, the Palatines were "to be maintained at her Majesty's expense until so settled as to provide for themselves." Then alluding to the failure of the experiment, the protesting of Hunter's bills, and the dispersion of the Palatines, they state that "they settled themselves in a riotous manner on lands belonging to other persons." Thus the false representations of Hunter had found credence—and most naturally—in the minds of the Lords of Trade, and were final in the non-

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 601.

suiting of the Palatines. By the time, also, that their petition came up for hearing, Hunter* himself was in England and, tho he had not influence enough to secure justice for himself, he was able to confirm the injustice of his own treatment of the poor people, whom "the Queen's clemency" had committed to his care, with the strict charge that everything should be done "with a view to the comfort of the poor Palatines." Destitute of all friends at court and without means to procure talents to plead their cause, it was inevitable that the mere statement of the poor debtors, languishing in prison, should be light as air in the scales against the assertion of so high a servant of the crown as the Governor of the province, who, we may readily believe, did not fail to embellish his narrative with a description of the riotous and rebellious character of the Palatines. His influence was fatal to the petition. There is some satisfaction to the reader's sense of poetic justice in the reflection, that the very means with which the Governor effected this oppression of the people, proved the knife which cut the throat of his own

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 552.

hopes. The crisis of his own cause turned against him through the lack of their testimony.

The long-delayed remittances from America at last arriving, the surviving deputies were liberated from prison. Shortly afterwards Scheff parted from Weiser and addressed an independent petition to the Board of Trade.* He recites the same facts as the former statement, tho in less ambitious style and with some added items of interest. He says that there are "about 160 families, and about 1000 souls at Schoharie . . . they had built huts, houses, and mills, improved the ground, and had made a road about 24 miles to Albany." He further says that there were about five hundred Palatine families, or three thousand souls, in the province, and asks that "they all be settled above, below, or round about the valley of Schorie." Then he protests against the patents given for the Schoharie lands as acts of bad faith, in the following words :

"And considering that the grant of the valley of Schorie, supposed to be given to some Gentlemen of Al-

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 557.

bany, having been made some time after the said Germans had seated themselves thereon, at first to one and afterwards to two other persons, was, as they humbly conceive, against the Plantation Laws, for the truth of which they humbly appeal to the proceedings of the Assembly of the Province, and those of the Governor and Council."

Here Scheff exposes the real nature of the wrong. He also deprecates removal from Schoharie on account of the unavoidable exposure of the women and children to the dangers of another transportation. If, however, they are to be removed, he claims that they should receive compensation for the betterments made by them in the valley.

Having lodged this petition, Scheff returned homeward, broken both in spirit and in health. Weiser remained in London two years longer, apparently "hoping against hope" that he might yet in some way secure an influence, by which relief could come for his people and himself. It was not until 1723, after five years of sojourn in London, in the midst of great suffering, that he finally gave up the struggle and returned to America.

Meanwhile, during his absence, the people had remained at Schoharie. They "continued

to improve the land," they plowed and planted and reaped, not much molested by the "Partners," who were biding their time, but conscious that their tenure was very slight, destitute of any rights of freehold which the law could sustain. For a long time after the maltreatment of the sheriff they were very "shy" of Albany. Sims states that the men of the valley would not go to Albany on any business, and sent the women thither for salt and other such necessities, themselves venturing to the city only upon Sundays, when they supposed that process could not be served upon them. After some months, however, during which the partners had made no sign, the people began to think that the trouble had blown over and that the violence to the sheriff was forgotten. So thinking, a party of the men went to Albany on a week-day, and were promptly arrested and thrown into gaol. The charges against them were of riot and trespassing. There seems to have been no pretence of a trial, the arrest being simply a means of coercion by the partners, to compel the settlers to acknowledge their title. The prisoners, among whom was young Conrad Weiser, were kept in gaol for several

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days, and finally released on the agreement of most of them to acknowledge the title of the Albany Gentlemen, and to take their holdings at Schoharie, either by purchase or on lease. This scored the first victory of the partners, and in moral effect on the Palatines it was complete. It broke the front of opposition by the people, and made the enforcement of the legal claim upon the lands a hundred-fold easier. The spirit of resistance was curbed by this defection, and the poor people realized at last that they must yield to the stronger.

There seems to have obtained in some minds a disproportionate idea of the discontent and disorder of the Palatines, which, unless they were guilty of lawless actions not recorded, is quite unjustified. The treatment given to Adams stands alone in violent character. In all the rest of the story—their enemies being recorders—the movements of opposition were simply the refusal of manly spirits to submit to oppressive and unjust demands. The refusal was made the more sturdy by a consciousness of constant fraud in the action of governmental agents towards them. Dr. Homes comments on their “discontent,” as

though it were blameworthy. But on a faithful presentation of the facts there is room for wonder, that their discontent did not receive a more frequent and more violent expression. Certainly, nothing in their conduct, other than the incident of the sheriff's experience, could justify the following language of Hunter :

"They might be usefully employed there [Schoharie], but there must be a Fort or two, as well to cover them as to keep them in order, which I know to be a hard task by dear bought experience, and this will require an augmentation of our Forces."*

Near the end of Hunter's term, on the request of the Board of Trade, a census of the Palatines was made, the Governor having applied to the two clergymen, Kockerthal and Hager, to procure the statistics. They reported in 1718—that the numbers in the Province of New York were as follows—

East side of Hudson River.	126	Families	:	499	Persons.
West side of the River.....	68	"		272	"
New York city.....	30	"		150	"
"Skohare".....	170	"		680	"
Total,	394	"		1601	"

* *Col. Hist.* v. 509.

The reverend census-takers state that this enumeration does not include the widows and orphans!—a somewhat curious fact, which gives room for questioning the correctness of their “list” in other particulars. We may suppose that Scheff’s statement of the number as three thousand is above the truth. But this estimate given to Hunter must have been equally below it. Considering that not less than twenty-five hundred were landed on Nutten Island in 1710, unless there was an unusual and unrecorded mortality among the people, the natural increase would have made them at least hold their own in numbers. They were a prolific people, and children were plentiful in their homes. An interesting record states that within the first fortnight after reaching Schoharie, the houses of Earhart, Lawyer, and Bouck were enriched by births. Of these three names two are still well known in the valley to-day. Certainly, we cannot be far wrong when estimating the Palatine population at Schoharie as above eight hundred. Nearly seven hundred composed the immigration of 1712-13. In six years the children born and the excepted widows and orphans could hardly

fail of bringing the total to the suggested number. This was a large company to be settled together "on the frontier," and the fancy can paint a glowing picture of what plenty and prosperity, what commercial growth and power might have ensued, had this people been suffered to remain unmolested together, to work out a destiny for themselves and this valley of their promise and delight.

But that was not to be. Fully two thirds of the people went forth, making for them a third migration, to seek yet other homes. Those who remained preferred submission to further unsettlement. But this large majority could not be content to buy from the hand of the oppressor what they knew to be morally their own.

As we recall the frequent expression of their hope when they set out for America ; the constancy, like that of the needle to the pole, with which their thought regarded "the promised land of Schorie" ; and the elation with which they passed within the embrace of its glorious hills,—entering the kingdom through much tribulation,—we can understand something of the tenacity of their ten years' struggle against

their foes, and something of the pang with which they turned their backs on "Schorie." Poetry and art have done their best to depict the sorrows of Acadia and its exiled people. And there was, indeed, a tragic quality to their experience, an intrusion of ruthless and brutal force, which are lacking happily from the Story of the Palatines. Thus there was a dignity in the sufferings of the poor Acadians, which also is lacking in the lot of the Palatines. And yet the latter suffered, if not so severely, certainly as wrongfully. Somehow—no one can explain it—to suffer at the bidding of military necessity adds honor to the pangs; while they, who are the helpless victims of spite and greed, seem to be smirched with the baseness of their foes, and to appeal in vain to the sympathies of history.

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CHAPTER VII.

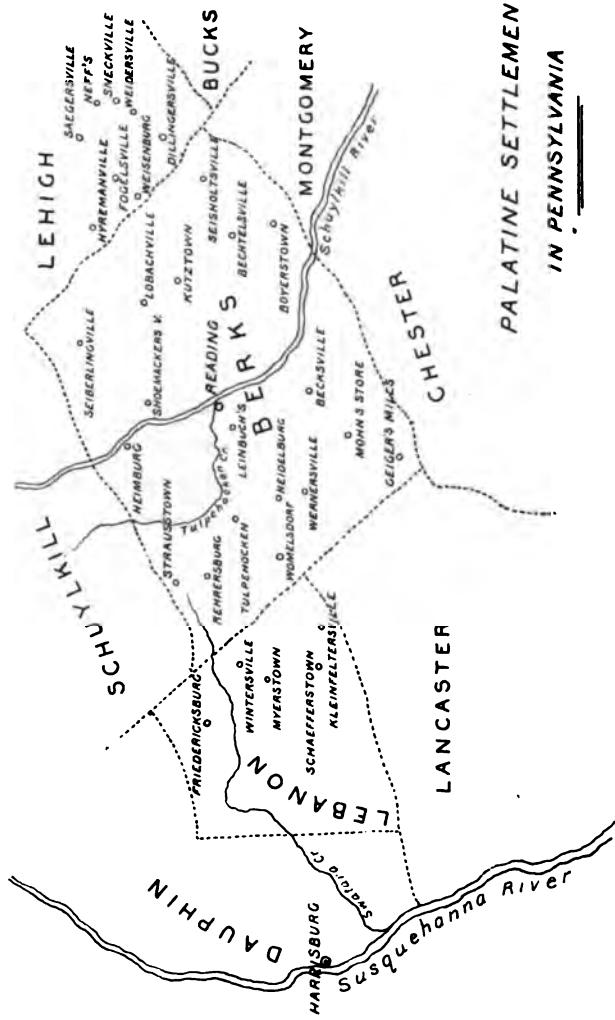
THE DISPERSION.

THE beginning of the dispersion and final migrations of these people is found in the instruction of the Board of Trade to Governor Burnett, shortly after his coming to New York. Sec'y Popple's letter, dated 29 Nov. 1720, directed the Governor to "settle those among the Palatines, who behave themselves with due submission to His Majesty's authority and are destitute of means of subsistence, upon such convenient lands as are not already disposed of." Possibly the petition of Weiser did so much of good as to convince the government that, if they could not right the wrongs of the Palatines, they must at least find them a place of unmolested habitation.

Burnett's thought,* as he wrote to London,

* *Col. Hist.*, v., 634.

PALATINE SETTLEMENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA





was to settle them "in the middle of our Indians. But they could not be brought to that.

. . . . I have granted their request to purchase of the Mohocks." This so pleased them that "all who did live in a lawless manner on the Land of Schokerry, which had been granted to other proprietors, have now actually taken leases and *attorned* Tenants." Evidently, the Governor, in his desire to report the establishment of peace, was not conscious of the absurdity of this statement. If the recalcitrant people had all taken leases at Schoharie, the need of any purchases among the "Mohocks" could not have been very pressing. Undoubtedly, the mood of Burnett was much more amicable towards the Palatines than was that of Hunter, tho it is clear that the statements of the latter had moulded his opinions as to the character of the people and the situation. Weiser writes :

"The new Governor felt like conciliating the disaffected, but they were nevertheless obliged to see their best acres abandoned, or retained at enormous prices. Some made a virtue of necessity and fell in with the new order, even at the expense of their manhood. Others would rather scatter here and there over the Province."

The "Land Papers" show that under this pressure the minds of many of the people were turned towards the Mohawk valley as the only way of escape. In the year 1722 various records were made of petitions for license to purchase land on the Mohawk, of warrants of survey, of Indian deeds, and of drafts of patents given to Palatines. We do not need to particularize in detail. One grant issued to Garlock, whose petition for Schoharie land had failed; another to Conrad Weiser, Jun.; and yet another to Hartman Vinedecker, one of the chiefs from whose first name the name of Hartman's dorp was made. Several of these permits recite often the names of the principals, "and other distressed Palatines," which may perhaps suggest some slight compunctions of the official conscience as to the distresses of that people. One license permits young Weiser to "purchase in the Mohawks country, three miles distant from any part of the Mohawks river,"—and this might suggest a desire, on the Governor's part, that so troublesome a stock as that of Weiser might be put off into the woods and as far as possible from the natural channels of communication. One

of the Indian deeds is much more liberal, ceding to the same Weiser lands stretching "westerly 24 miles on Mohawk's River to Ganendagaran [Canajoharie ?], on both sides of the river, and [north and south] as far as said Palatin or High Dutchmen, please."

To these various warrants and licenses Burnett alludes when he writes—November 21, 1722: "I have given them leave to purchase land from the Indians, between the present English settlements near Fort Hunter and part of Canada [?], on a creek called Canada Creek." He defines this leave as given to "about sixty families, who desired to be in a distinct tract from the rest, and were those who all along had been most hearty for the government." This latter statement is another of Burnett's absurdities, for those who were most submissive and hearty to the government had contented themselves in taking leases in Schoharie.

¹Burnett sees much value in planting the Palatines on the Mohawk, as they will there be "a barrier against sudden incursions of the French, who made this their road when they last attacked and burned the Frontier town

called Schonectady." In this letter Burnett speaks very disparagingly of the Palatines. "I find very little gratitude for favors done them." Under all the circumstances this is explicable, without reflecting severely on their character. Evidently, the Governor was somewhat vexed. He had gone up to Albany about this and other business, and had expected, as he wrote in this same letter,

" to fix the Palatines in their new settlements which I had obtained of the Indians [!] at a very late purchase, but I found them very much divided into Parties. They said that the lands were not enough, the cunningest among them fomenting their Divisions, in order that the greatest number might leave the Province, and then the great Tract of Land lately purchased would make so many considerable estates to the few Families that should remain. . . . This is managed by a few cunning persons who lead the rest as they please, who are for the generality a laborious and honest, but headstrong and ignorant, people."

Burnett seems to have possessed an inventive mind ; and yet this letter is not consistent with itself. Nor is it consistent with the fact that "the cunningest among them," such as Weiser and Vinedecker, did not go to that "great Tract" at all. They tarried yet a while

in Schoharie and then themselves, not their dupes, left the province altogether and went into Pennsylvania.

The origin of that migration to Pennsylvania has some connection with the other business which brought Burnett to Albany in 1722. That was attendance at one of the frequent councils with the Indians. Albany was the point at which the negotiations with the friendly tribes were carried on, the scene of many a long palaver, and the emporium of the Indian trade. Here was the official residence of the provincial Secretary for Indian affairs, and hither came the Governor to meet his "Brothers" of the tribes in solemn conclave. The Council of this year was of more than usual importance, because of movements and agreements among the Indians, by which the tribes beyond the borders of New York were affected. This larger interest and importance of the Council drew to its deliberations, not only the Governor of New York, but also Sir William Keith, the Governor of Pennsylvania. While at Albany Keith became acquainted with the Palatine affairs. Probably Burnett discoursed to him of the

trouble they had given to Hunter and himself, and some of the leading Palatines told him of their afflictions and unrest. In whatever way Keith may have been informed, he was moved to compassion towards the distressed people, and offered to them an asylum from all persecution in his own province. Weiser * says that he, "hearing of the unrest of the Germans, lost no time to inform them of the freedom and justice accorded to their countrymen in Pennsylvania."

This "afforded" alludes to the kindly reception already given to immigrants from the Palatinate directly to Pennsylvania. In 1717† five years before the visit of Keith to Albany, and while the Schoharie troubles were at their height, three ship-loads of Palatines were landed at Philadelphia. The captains of the ships reported their arrival, furnished a list of their passengers, and, as though aware that such an influx was unusual for both numbers and nationality, requested from the council permission to land the people. This was at once given, while the names of the immigrants were put on record and are still preserved,

* *Life of Weiser*, p. 28. † *Penn. Col. Records*, iii., 29.

together with the names of over thirty thousand of their countrymen from the Palatinate and other parts of Germany, who during the next thirty years came from the old country directly to Pennsylvania. The peculiarity of this record of names consists in the fact, that such was not kept of other immigrants into that province. We may suppose that the unusual nationality of this first company, or its numbers (363), suggested the propriety of the record; the continuance of which was regarded as important, because of the volume of the incoming during the next three decades. For whatever reason caused, the Palatines in Pennsylvania have this distinction,—that they alone among the early settlers of that commonwealth have, name by name, their place in the records of the colony.

There can be little doubt that the change of direction on the part of this company of 1717 from New York to Philadelphia, was due to the report of tribulations sent home by the Palatines of the Manor and Schoharie. The treatment they had received, the harsh service, and the unrelenting persistence which denied a foothold, convinced the newcomers that

New York would not afford them hospitable welcome or happy homes. So they bethought them of the invitation sent to the oppressed in Europe, thirty years before, by William Penn, offering a welcome refuge in his new colony in America. They sailed directly to Philadelphia from Rotterdam, touching neither at any English port nor at New York. So doing, they became more successful pioneers for their countrymen than were the settlers on the Hudson and the Schoharie. After their experiences no company of Palatines came of their own accord to New York. To this there is one apparent exception.

In 1722* a single ship with a large company of people arrived at New York, having "touched in England" on the way from Holland. But its going thither may be set down as compulsory, by reason of general and severe sickness on board. The inspecting physicians reported to the Governor and Council that there was no "Contagious Distemper on Board the said Vessel," but suggested that the "quantity of Cloaths may have contracted Noisome Smells," because of the

* *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 428.

large number of the sick and "the Length of the Voyage." So it was ordered by the Governor and Council that no person from the ship should "come on Shoar on this Island [N. Y.] with any Cloaths, Chests or other furniture till the same have been thoroughly air'd upon Nutton Island during the space of six hours at least."

On this ship, it may be noted in passing, were four men of the name of Erghimer, the son of one of whom, to the glory of the New York Palatines, was Nicholas Herkimer, the hero of Oriskany. With this one exception of a ship probably carried out of its intended course, all the Palatine immigrations after 1710 landed at Philadelphia. And it is well to note that, so large was the Palatine element in these immigrations, all the natives of other German States, coming with them, were called by the same name. Thus, though the Palatinate covered but a small portion of the German Empire, yet for forty years in Pennsylvania nomenclature all Germans were Palatines.

It should be noted here that, previous to the migration from Schoharie and the consequent

large influx directly from the old country, several companies of Germans had come to Pennsylvania. Most of them were small bands of religionists, whose peculiar views made life a burden to them in the fatherland. So early as 1685 a band of Mennonites settled at Germantown, giving the spot its name. About the same time Labadists from Frieseland settled in Newcastle County, Delaware, then a part of Pennsylvania. Ten years after, Kelpius brought a company of Pietists and settled them on the Wissahickon ; and in 1719 a band of Dunkers settled in Germantown by the side of the Mennonites. Other religious sects were added in the next few years,—the Newborn, the Disciples of Ephrata, and the Schwenkfelders, closing the list with the large and beneficent incoming of the Moravians, which began in 1735.* About 1705 or 1712, came to Philadelphia that distinct company of Germans, who passed over into New Jersey, having New York as their objective, but were so charmed by the rolling lands of Morris County that they quietly took possession.†

* Mellick's *Story of an Old Farm* ; Sachse's *German Pietists of Pennsylvania* ; Rupp's *Collection*. † See page 60.

It is probable that this last-mentioned company were Palatines. If in 1712, they may have landed at Philadelphia instead of New York by stress of storm, having in mind to join their countrymen on the Hudson, of whose hard fortunes they had not yet heard. It is not unlikely that the tidings of those afflictions, met on their journey overland, made them all the more ready to yield to the attractions of the Jersey hills. But, except for this and the immigration of 1717 already noted, it is impossible to connect any of these other companies with the Palatines. They came from other parts of Germany and from diverse motives. At the same time it is clear that the immense tide of German immigration, which after 1720 set into Pennsylvania, was dominantly Palatine, and was controlled as to its destination by the kindly treatment received by its forerunners at the hands of the Quakers.

Governor Keith could truthfully tell the men of Schoharie that their countrymen had been "afforded freedom and justice" in his province. The bands of religionists had been in no way molested. The immigrants of 1717 also had been received with the utmost kind-

ness, and the people had been allowed to choose their places of residence. The most of them settled about sixty miles west of Philadelphia, and were subjected to no other trials than those incident to a new settlement in the forest in the vicinage of capricious Indians. This invitation of Keith found open ears with many of the Palatines at Schoharie, whose formal petition to Governor Keith and the Assembly of Pennsylvania was soon forwarded to Philadelphia.* The petition was from fifteen (heads of family?) at Schoharie, who recited in brief their experiences since leaving Europe, stated that they had heard of the generous treatment shown to their countrymen in Pennsylvania, and prayed that lands might be set aside for them on the Tulpehocken, which lands they declared themselves ready and able to purchase. This petition was not immediately acted on by the Assembly, but it appears † from a similar petition presented three years afterward, and after the first company from Schoharie had already come into Pennsylvania, that the immigration thither was with the full consent of the authorities. The fact that the

* Rupp's *Berks Co., Pa.*, p. 98. † *Penn. Col. Records.*, iii., 322.

presence of the people was on invitation of Keith is noted by the Assembly, and steps are taken towards satisfying the claims of Chief Sassouan, who had protested against the occupancy of the Tulpehocken lands.

These various statements show that in 1723 the settlers at Schoharie were divided in three parts. The one resolved to remain in the valley at the cost of whatever "agreement" they could make with the usurpers of their lands. The others could not bring themselves to submit to such humiliating conditions, and "girded up their loins" for a third removal—one part of them to the Mohawk, and the rest into Pennsylvania. Of the numbers in these several sections of the people it is impossible to speak with any exactness.

Probably about three hundred remained in Schoharie. Their life there was uneventful, so far as any incident is presented for record here. For the most part, having made terms with the patentees, they were suffered to live out their lives in peace. Occasionally roving bands of Indians extended their depredating tours into the valley, but, happily for the settlers, its secluded situation, southward from the

great Indian thoroughfare along the Mohawk and sheltered among the mountains, saved them from the refluent tide of war, which so often for thirty years made the Mohawk and the northern country a bloody ground. In the Revolution, Brandt with his Indians and English allies went down the valley. He made a sharp attack on the fort at Middleburgh, and was beaten off, and left as memento of his raid a cannon ball in the freize of the old Stone Church at Fox's dorp, which still can be seen by the visitor of historic taste, held fast in the spot where Brandt placed it. Much romance finds its home in the valley, and many tales of adventure are related of Murphy, the Indian fighter, whom Brown styles the "Benefactor of Schoharie." The Schoharie people were a quiet folk, content to farm their lands and educate their children, and have left no special marks upon the history of the State, save in the person and life of William C. Bouck, a man of very considerable ability, of direct Palatine descent, who held various public offices of trust and honor from the State, and served with dignity as its governor from 1843-45. There was in vogue, some forty years ago, the

bye-word, "Ignorant as a Schoharie Dutchman." How this slighting comparison originated it is hard to tell, but there is no doubt of its injustice, for it can be successfully maintained that, for general intelligence, sobriety, probity, and industry the villages on the Schoharie were not a whit behind the average rural community of New York State.

We turn now to the Mohawk, whither migrated at least a third of the Palatines of Schoharie, to whose number were added many from the solitary ship which arrived in New York in 1722, among them the families of Erghimer. The leader of the men from Schoharie was Elias Garloch, one of the seven chiefs or deputies, who came as prospectors from the Manor. He was the head of Garloch's dorp in the valley, and, as already noted, had unsuccessfully applied for a patent in Schoharie. While in Schoharie he occupied the position of magistrate, either by appointment from Albany or by choice of his countrymen. One of the many whose sense of right and manhood would not permit them to make any composition with the unjust patentees, he resolved to give up the long-cherished hope which had made Schoharie

as a land of promise, to abandon the home he had built and the improvements made through twelve years' labor in the valley, and set out again to find still another settlement.

Of course, Garloch was not singular in this feeling and resolution. At least two thirds of the eight hundred people in Schoharie were in perfect sympathy and agreed with him therein. This fact is notable. And this is not to be explained by any supposition of an unreasonable and unruly spirit. Such explanation would be reasonable for the wayward conduct of a mere handful of men. But it will not do for two thirds of a community, to the number of five hundred and more. For eight years the question had been mooted, the patentees had asserted their claim, and offered easy terms of settlement, so that some among the Palatines were seduced into compliance. But to these terms this great majority had returned only a stubborn negative. They refused to either lease or buy the lands which, in all justice, were their own. The lands were cheap enough. They could secure titles to them at less cost than the expense of removing elsewhere, but in no way would they admit the

claim of the patentees. When after these years of quiet struggle, in which occurred but one outbreak, they found that permanent settlement in Schoharie was only possible at the loss of self-respect, they set out for other dwelling-places. It was not done "in a pet," nor in disorder, but in the quietness of determined resistance to wrong. Such is the only proper understanding of their course. Some have flippantly spoken of it as ignorant and stubborn. Ignorant these people certainly were not, but had clear view both of right and truth. As to stubbornness, theirs was of the same sort as that which emptied the tea chests into the waters of Boston harbor.

We have already noted the fact that warrants of survey and for patents of land in the "Mohawks country" had been issued to Garloch, Winedecker, Weiser, and others before 1723. Of these three only the first entered upon the land so granted, the attention of Winedecker and Weiser having been turned towards Pennsylvaina. In the latter part of 1725 a patent was issued for lands on the Mohawk, "twenty-four miles westerly from Little Falls, on both sides of the river," to

William Burnett and others. This Burnett was undoubtedly the Governor and the "others" were Palatines, ninety-two of whom are named in the instrument. We understand that these ninety-two were mainly heads of families, so that this migration must have included over three hundred persons. The patent is called the Burnetsfield patent, from the name of the Governor, the inclusion of which in the instrument was for some purpose not mentioned. Certainly, he made no claim of personal title to these lands, to the distress of the Palatines, after the manner of the five partners in Schoharie. His purpose in associating himself with the Palatines in this patent was, probably, with a view of facilitating the partition of the lands among the settlers. The patent recites that "one hundred acres were to be given to each person, man, woman, and child." This amount was a free grant, subject only to the usual quit-rent to the crown. In addition to this, others, like Garloch and Eckaard, had independent patents and were able to purchase lands beyond.

To this region the people removed in 1725-26, and made new homes which, happily, were

to be permanent, and gave to various localities the names which to-day testify of their possession. For twenty-five or thirty miles the Mohawk is to-day a Palatine, or German, river. A glance at the map will show how true this is, with its names of towns which this people knew in the fatherland, monuments of their early possession and settlement. Thus the two towns of Palatine and Palatine Bridge show clearly the source of their names. Mannheim, Oppenheim, Newkirk, and others are as clearly marked with a German origin. The level meadows, unsurpassed for fertility, stretching along the south side of the Mohawk, are still known as the German Flats, while over against them on the north side was the settlement, which in after-years received the name of Herkimer, from the bluff General, the most celebrated among the Palatines of the Mohawk. And not only on the river, but for long distances on either side remain like tokens of this permanent German possession.

For thirty years the people had undisputed occupancy and were unmolested, so that they enjoyed a long period of rest and peace and prosperity, after the toils and afflictions expe-

rienced in the old country and, as well also, for fifteen years in the new.* "The people were seated on as fertile a spot as any in the State. They had good buildings on their farms and were generally rich." Upon all this prosperity, however, came that ruin which visited and destroyed so many of the frontier towns during the French and Indian War. In November, 1757, occurred the raid of M. de Bellette, whose force, composed of 300 Indians and Canadians, came up the Black River valley, and emerging from the mountain forests, fell without warning on all the Palatine settlements on the north side of the Mohawk. They made a clean sweep, burning every building—alike the houses of the people and the barns stuffed with the gathered crops, while most of the stock, horses, cattle, sheep, and swine were killed. Some of the people were slain and nearly one hundred carried off as prisoners. The majority of the people saved themselves by flight, crossing the river and seeking refuge in the fort on the south side. The enemy did not pursue, but busying themselves with the work of destruction, retired

* Benton's *Herkimer Co.*, p. 58.

at nightfall with their booty and their prisoners, satisfied for that occasion.

But this satisfaction lasted only until the following spring. In April of 1758, another band of marauders, composed of a small number of French and a much larger body of Indians, attacked the settlements on the south side of the river. This party did not succeed in approaching the settlements with entire surprise. Warning was in some way given, and Captain Herchamer*—the future General—who was in command of the fort, was able to collect behind its defences the great majority of the settlers. The attack on the fort failed, but the invading force killed thirty of the Palatines and rivalled, in the destruction of the unprotected farmsteads, their comrades' work of the preceding autumn.

In the following year the fall of Quebec, and the coincident collapse of the French power in America, brought peace to the much-suffering frontiers. The Palatines were able to rebuild their houses and barns. The captives returned, and prosperity came back again

* Note the evolution of the name: Erghimer, Herchamer, Herkimer.

to stay. In all this period this people were notable for their bravery and devotion. From the settlements stretching from the Flats to Palatine a sturdy body of yeomanry was organized in nine companies by Sir William Johnson, who counted much upon them for his measures of defence during the French War. In the after-struggles of the colonies with England, they were very patriotic, and resolutely refused to be drawn away by Guy Johnson to the cause of the King. They were described as "very hearty in the present struggles for American liberty." In all the districts of Tryon County committees of Public Safety were appointed, and among them, says Benton, the committees of Palatine and Canajoharie seem to have taken the initiative and the lead. Guy Johnson, recognizing the strength to the royal cause which would come by winning over these people, did his utmost to secure their defection from the popular cause. To all his appeals and arguments the Palatines were deaf, and in a formal letter, delivered by Nicholas Herkimer and Edward Wahl,* "announced their resolution of stand-

* Benton's *Herkimer Co.*, p. 68.

ing by the country until all grievances were redressed." On receipt of this letter Johnson perceived that all present occupation for him in the Mohawk valley was gone, and retired to Canada. Thence in 1777, he came with St. Leger, only to turn back again after the baffling victory of the Oriskany. How bravely and stanchly the Palatines maintained their resolution that battle shows. To them and to their brave Herkimer, whose life was there forfeit to his glory, belongs large credit of making possible the supreme victory of Saratoga, by which was ended the struggle for the Hudson, and the vital union of the northern colonies secured.

It only remains to narrate the fortunes of the migration to Pennsylvania. The MSS. of the younger Weiser state that "the people got news of lands on the Swatara and Tulpehocken." In what way such news reached them he does not tell, but it is not at all improbable that the locality was suggested as appropriate by the hospitable Keith. Certainly, the tidings proved attractive, and together with the Governor's invitation opened a way of escape from the toils of Schoharie. To

many of them it was far more desirable than any new location within the province of New York. The experiences of the people in New York and the disposition of the authorities towards them were of such a character, that at least a third of the Schoharie population readily embraced the first opportunity of establishment beyond the jurisdiction of the colony in which they had found such troubles. This we may take as accounting for the sudden change of plan on the part of Vinedecker and Weiser, both of whom had obtained licences for land on the Mohawk and were preparing to remove thither. On the opening of this new prospect into the colony of Pennsylvania, they either abandoned or transferred to others their rights under these licences, and began to arrange for a departure to the southward. About sixty families, or about three hundred persons, went from Schoharie to the Tulpehocken region. This migration, however, was not in one body, the first detachment starting in the spring of 1723, not more than eight months after the invitation by Governor Keith, and the rest in 1728.

The leader of the first company was Hart-

man Vinedecker, the head of Hartman's dorp, whom almost his entire village followed into Pennsylvania. The emigrants ascended the Schoharie for a few miles, and then under the conduct of an Indian guide crossed the mountains southwestwardly to the upper waters of the Susquehanna. On the bank of this river they constructed canoes for the carriage of the most of their number, with the women and children and furniture. In these canoes, while some of the men drove the horses and cattle on the land, the majority of the party floated down the Susquehanna so far as to the mouth of the Swatara. Turning into this stream they followed its upward course, until in the region of hills and vales and fertile meadow-lands, in which both the Swatara and Tulpehocken have their rise, they found at last the object of their journey and a place of permanent habitation. To their first settlement they gave the name of Heidelberg, and thence sent back word to their friends at Schoharie of the prosperous issue of the journey. Sims has a curious tale —gathered from some unknown source, and hardly capable of proof or credence—that, some months afterwards, twelve of the horses

of this company found their own way back to the Schoharie valley. The memory of the sweet clover on the "clawver wy"—the flats on the Little Schoharie kill—proved superior to all the attractions of the Tulpehocken meadows!

The other, and probably the far smaller, portion of the Pennsylvania migration tarried yet five years in Schoharie, as tho with lingering hope that some happy chance might yet save them from the necessity of removal from the beloved valley. Not until the spring of 1728 did they finally decide to join their countrymen in the south. No account is left of the route or method of their journey, but it is probable that they followed the course already described by the former company. Their leader and chief was Conrad Weiser, of whom some things should be written, as of a character and influence worthy of very high regard.

We have noted that he was twelve years old at the time of the emigration of his people from the Palatinate, having had his birth at Herrenberg on November 2, 1696. He was kept at school through boyhood until the departure of the family to England, and in after-life he

gave abundant proof of a well-disciplined and thoughtful mind. There are, indeed, many writings from the hands of the two Weisers which furnish evidence of a high degree of intellectual and moral culture, and, for themselves at least, rebut the imputation of ignorance cast at all this people. In the first months of the settlement at Schoharie, a friendship was formed by the Weisers with an Indian chief of the Mohawks, named Quagnant, who conceived a special liking for Conrad, then sixteen years of age, and proposed to take the lad into his own country and teach him the Indian language. The father consented, and young Conrad himself, seeing a prospect of adventure, was nothing loathe. He spent a large part of the winter and following spring in the lodge of Quagnant, and made such progress in his study of the Indian language that, at once on his return, his services as interpreter were in demand. This service found frequent demands, not only at Schoharie, but in Pennsylvania in his later years. He endured great hardships among the Indians, not from any hostility—tho several times in danger of death by the hand of drunken braves—but

from the manner of life he was compelled to lead. The food was unwholesome and scanty, and his clothing was insufficient ; but the lad showed no little grit in remaining until he had completed his linguistic task.* From this sojourn Conrad retained a constant friendship for the Indians, and at various times made protracted visits among them. It is supposed that much of the time between the departures of the first and second companies to Pennsylvania was so spent by him, as his known position and influence had made him specially obnoxious to the five partners.

Out of this intimacy with the Indians came the tale that the wife of Conrad was an Indian, to which tale the fact that the woman's patronymic is not recorded gives color. Conrad wrote, "In 1720, while my father was in England, I married my Anna Eve, and was given in marriage by the Rev. John Fr. Hager, a Reformed clergyman, on the 23d of November, in my father's house at Schoharie." In the families of Weiser and Muhlenberg there has been no little dispute as to the Indian origin of this Anna Eve. The

* Rupp's *Berks Co.*, p. 195 ; *Life of Weiser*.

arguments in favor are found in the Indian friendship and sojourns of young Weiser, the absence of a surname, and the fact that the marriage took place at the home of the groom, as tho the bride had no Christian home of her own from which to go to her husband. These are foundation enough for a legend, but furnish little by way of proof, and are fully met by the supposition that the young woman may have been a Redemptioner, bound out to service until the amount of her passage-money had been paid. Among the Germans coming to this country, during the early years of the last century, there were very many so indentured, whose surnames were lost, and afterwards had no other home or surname than those of their masters. As to Conrad's wife, her son-in-law, Muhlenberg, in the *Hallische Nachrichten*, declares that she was "a German Christian maiden of Evangelical parentage." This would seem to be with sufficient authority, and to justify the language of Weiser's biographer: "We hesitate not to write her a full-blooded Palatine woman."

After Weiser's removal to Pennsylvania and settlement at Womelsdorf, to which place

he gave beginning and name, he soon acquired position and influence. He was recognized as the chief person in the German settlements, and was frequently employed on important missions by the Governor and Council, especially upon those in which his knowledge of the Indian tongue made him useful. He has left several very interesting treatises on the Indian character, in which his special inquiry is as to the openness of the mind of the red men to the approach of religious teaching. There was evidently much of a missionary spirit in the man, and he is described as of "unbounded benevolence, a man of integrity, and universally respected." In many ways, not only his own community, but the provincial authorities relied greatly on his knowledge, judgment, and efficiency in all affairs committed to him. He was associated with Franklin and other men of importance in various matters of public concernment. Shortly after his settlement in Pennsylvania the Governor gave him a commission as colonel; and both in the frequent Indian difficulties and through the disturbances of the French War he proved the worthiness of his rank. The only recorded

act of Weiser, which seems to reflect discredit, is his signing the petition for the disarming of the Roman Catholics, at the time of the French War. The aspect of this petition was, of course, quite contrary to the spirit of Penn, and also to the usual feelings of Weiser himself. The intent of it—and this needs to be noted—was not for religious ends, but for the protection of the colony. There were many Roman Catholics in the province, about whom public rumor busied itself with the suspicion that they would ally themselves, with their fellow-religionists from Canada, against the peace of the colony and the rights of King George. The suspicion was utterly baseless, and may be reckoned as one of those unreasonable "scares," which are apt to take possession of the mind in times of public excitement. For the moment this suspicion obtained wide credence; and a bill in accord with the petition was passed by the Assembly. The law, however, was not generally executed, the second thought of the government having discerned its needlessness.

Weiser was of positive religious convictions and, save for a short period, a staunch

Lutheran. His friend and pastor, John Peter Miller, a native of the Palatinate and graduate of Heidelberg, led Weiser with himself into the Seventh Day Baptist Association at Ephrata. Miller remained in that communion until his death in 1796, but Weiser soon retired. His house became the home of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the "Patriarch of Lutheranism" in America, from the time that that apostle came to this country in 1742.

Not long thereafter—and this is part of the story of the Palatines no less than of the sketch of Weiser—Muhlenberg married Weiser's daughter and became the father of a celebrated progeny. No less than three of his sons were alike clergymen, soldiers, and statesmen, serving with distinction in pulpit, army, Congress, and other civil offices. Frederick was Speaker of the first national House of Representatives. One brother was a foreign minister. Another was distinguished as a writer and scientist. Of the eldest, Peter, it is told that he was, at the outbreak of the Revolution, a pastor in Virginia, and took leave of his church in most dramatic fashion. Urged by Washington, who was a

personal friend, to accept a commission as colonel in the Continental army, he consented and at once preached his farewell to his people. He told them that there was a time for everything—"a time to preach and a time to pray; but there is also a time to fight, and that time has now come." So saying, he threw off his gown and stood full dressed in his colonel's uniform. Going down from the pulpit and out of the church, he bade the drums to be beat for recruits, when more than three hundred of his congregation enlisted on the spot.

A great grandson of the Patriarch Muhlenberg was the sainted William A. Muhlenberg, so long known, venerated, and loved in New York, and whose name has to-day so sweet a fragrance in the entire American Church. There have been few families in American annals that have been more illustrious than that of the Muhlenbergs. The founder of it, tho dead over a hundred years, is still spoken of as "Father Muhlenberg" throughout Pennsylvania. Many of his descendants have laid their country under debts of gratitude and reverence; and it will

be borne in mind, as one reason of their mention here, that in those descendants the blood of Weiser had equal share with that of him whose name they bore. And, indeed, without this Weiser infusion, the Muhlenbergs would, of themselves, come within the claims made on our respect and gratitude by the German and Palatine contingents to our American society and state.

Of the elder Weiser, John Conrad, but little mention is made after his return from England in 1723. His place as leader had during his absence been taken by his son, who tells in his private journal of a mission to New York :

"I was sent," he writes, "in the early part of 1721 to New York, to Gov. Burnett to hand him a petition. He received me kindly, and informed me that he had received instructions from the Lords of Trade, which he had resolved to follow implicitly."

This petition doubtless had reference to the Palatine claim to Schoharie, and the instruction must have been that, already alluded to, to settle the Palatines "on such convenient lands as are not already disposed of." John Conrad on his return to Schoharie seems to have been

quite willing to yield all leadership to the more active Conrad. It is not at all improbable that he came back broken in health and spirit. Certainly, he was hampered in domestic life. While yet upon the Manor he had married again, and most unfortunately for his own peace and his children's welfare. To them the woman was cruel, and to him an irritation, destroying both contentment and usefulness. It is probable that he went with his son to Pennsylvania, where, however, he did not remain. The details of his after-life and the time and place of his death are not recorded. As for the son, Conrad ; after twenty years of useful and beneficent service in Pennsylvania, he died at Womelsdorf in 1760.

The number of families going from Schoharie to Pennsylvania was about sixty. These established themselves in the region of the Tulpehocken and Swatara. There they founded a community, which from the first was prosperous, and soon exerted a magnetic power to draw thither thousands of their countrymen from over the sea. The treatment received from the authorities was kindly and generous. Shortly after their settlement, the

chief, Sassouan, complained to the Council at Philadelphia of their intrusion on the Tulpehocken lands. He was grown old, he said, and had never been paid for the lands, and his children now had no place to live in. His claim was satisfied and the Germans confirmed in possession of the lands. To these lands, which afterwards were delimited as Lebanon and Berks counties, came a large proportion of the German immigration, which at once began to flow in with so great a volume. The map of these counties, as that of the Mohawk, shows in the names of its towns, many of which names were brought from the Palatinate, how almost exclusively this Palatine and German element has peopled that country.

As already noted, the influx from the old country had begun before the company had gone from Schoharie. The movement was accelerated and increased by the reports sent back to Europe of the kind treatment accorded by the Pennsylvania authorities to the immigration of 1717 and to the colony from Schoharie. The poor and oppressed of the Palatinate and neighboring States realized that at last a secure asylum was opened. Into it

they flocked in a steady stream. Within twenty years of the settlement at Tulpehocken their number in the province had increased to nearly fifty thousand, of whom a list of over thirty thousand names is preserved in the State archives at Harrisburg. Very many of them were poor and unable to pay for their passage, and on arrival at Philadelphia were put up at public auction to serve for a term of years, and thus became "Redemptioners." "They were usually sold at £10 for from three to five years' servitude. Many, after serving their time faithfully, became some of the most wealthy and influential citizens of the state."

The unanimity with which these thousands avoided New York is remarkable, and is commented on in an interesting way by Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller and naturalist. Speaking of the colony from Schoharie, he goes on to say :

" Not satisfied with being themselves removed from New York, they wrote to their friends and relatives, if ever they intended to come to America, not to go to New York. This advice had such influence that the Ger-

* Rupp's *Berks Co.*, p. 92.

mans, who afterwards went in such numbers to America, constantly avoided New York and went to Pennsylvania. It sometimes happened that they were forced to take ships bound for New York, but they were scarce got on shore when they hastened to Pennsylvania, *in sight of all the inhabitants of New York.*" *

The enormous—for those days—influx of these people into Pennsylvania occasioned at times no small alarm in the minds of some of the authorities and English inhabitants of the province. James Logan, the Secretary of the Province, wrote in 1717, when the immigration had just begun, "We have of late great numbers of Palatines poured in among us, without recommendation or notice, which gives the country some uneasiness, for foreigners do not so well among us as our own English people." † The alarm did not spread to Jonathan Dickinson, who, some years later, wrote: "We are daily expecting ships from London, which bring over Palatines, in number about six or seven thousand. We had a parcel who came out about five years ago, and proved quiet and industrious." These six thousand must be the immigration to which Logan refers in another

* *Penn. Hist. Mag.*, x., 388. † *Rupp's Berks Co.*, p. 92.

letter, in which he expresses a "fear lest the colony be lost to the crown" by reason of these foreigners.

The desire for emigration seemed to be entirely appeased in the Palatinate from 1717 to 1726. Then, and probably on account of letters from Tulpehocken, it assumed new and steadier force, which was increased by the imposition of heavier burdens by the Elector. For twenty years and more there was a steady outflow, and the ships, which brought the people to America, "plied between Rotterdam and Philadelphia with almost the regularity of a ferry." In consequence of this large and continuous incoming of foreigners the authorities of the province felt called upon to take action such as no other immigration had compelled. The arrival of each ship, the numbers and names of the Palatines on board, were reported to the Council and put upon record. A special form of oath was devised for subscription by the newcomers, which recited, among other words :

"We Subscribers, Natives and late Inhabitants of the Palatinate upon the Rhine & Places adjacent . . . will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his present MA-

JESTY KING GEORGE THE SECOND, and his Successors, Kings of Great Britain, and will be faithful to the Proprietor of this Province: and will demean ourselves peaceably . . . and strictly observe and conform to the Laws of England and of this Province."*

This form was devised as a protection to the province, which the Council considered as possibly "endangered by such numbers of strangers daily poured in, who being ignorant of our Language & Laws, & settling in a body together, make, as it were a distinct people from his Majesties Subjects." The subscription to this oath was required of all Germans coming to Pennsylvania until after 1750. The original lists, giving names of subscribers, the ships in which they were brought, and the dates of arrival, are still preserved at Harrisburg, and have been published in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d Series, vol. xvii. They have also been published by Rupp. These lists contain over thirty thousand names. From the fact that all the subscribers were men, and presumably many of them heads of families, it is safe to conclude that this Palatine immigration brought to the province, by the middle of

* *Penn. Col. Records*, iii., 283.

the eighteenth century, over sixty thousand souls.

This outward flow from the Palatinate was so great that the committee at Rotterdam became alarmed. Their resources for forwarding the people and for caring for them while awaiting shipment were overtaxed, and they endeavored to discourage the spirit of emigration by the most forbidding tales of sorrowful experiences undergone by the emigrants, of which tales the following is a sample :

“We learn from New York that a ship from Rotterdam, going to Philadelphia with one hundred and fifty Palatines, wandered twenty-four weeks at sea. When they finally arrived at port they were nearly all dead. The rest were forced to subsist on rats and vermin, and were very sick and weak.”*

This horrible example, however, did not prove a very powerful deterrent. The stream still kept on.

Notwithstanding the alarm at first felt in the province because of so great importation of foreigners, the value of it to the community was not long in coming to official statement. In 1738 Lieutenant-Governor Thomas, making

* *Penn. Hist. Mag.*, ii., 131.

an address to the Council touching some proposed measures of restriction, used the following most emphatic language :

“ This Province has been for some years the Asylum of the distressed Protestants of the Palatinate and other parts of Germany, and I believe it may with truth be said, that the present flourishing condition of it is in a great measure owing to the Industry of those People ; and should any discouragement divert them from coming hither, it may well be apprehended that the value of your Lands will fall, and your advance to wealth be much slower.” *

Some years afterwards there were certain outcroppings of disfavor towards the Palatines, which seem to have been of a political character. In 1755 Samuel Wharton published a pamphlet, in which he expressed great dread of German preponderance, and represented that that people were hostile to the government. “ Instead of peaceable, industrious people as before, they have become insolent, sullen, and turbulent.” In January of the same year a bill was introduced into the Council to limit the importation of Palatines. The Governor objected that the measure was inhuman. The bill caused great discussion both in the Coun-

* *Penn. Col. Records*, iii., 315.

cil and out of it, and was referred to a committee which presently reported it back with amendments, and also said, "But, as the difference in sentiment was very great, and on points which the Assembly were very fond of, it was thought best to keep the Bill for some time, lest the Amendments might add to the Heat, already too great." In the following April—probably because "the Heat" had lessened—the bill was taken up and passed. But it was vetoed by the Governor ;* and that is the last we read of opposition to the Palatines in Pennsylvania. By their steadiness, industry, frugality, religious habitudes and patriotic devotion to their new country, they not only established their own prosperity, but also won their way to the regard of the province, upon which their coming had brought unmeasured blessing. Of such influence and impression most weighty testimony is borne by no less competent a judge than Benjamin Franklin,† who, in 1766, testified before a committee of the British House of Commons that of the one hundred and sixty thousand whites in the Province of

* *Penn. Col. Records*, iv., 225, 345 *et seq.*

† *Penn. Hist. Mag.*, x., 391.

Pennsylvania about one third were Germans, and described them as "a people who brought with them the greatest of all wealth,—industry and integrity, and characters that had been superpoised and developed by years of suffering and persecution." *

At a much later day, after a hundred years had shown the fruitage of this Palatine seed, Judge Pennypacker, himself an offshoot of that stock, thus wrote :

"No Pennsylvania names are more cherished at home and more deservedly known abroad than those of Wister, Shoemaker, Muhlenberg, Weiser, Heister, Keppile, and Keim, . . . and there are few Pennsylvanians, not comparatively recent arrivals, who cannot be carried back along some of their ancestral lines to the country of the Rhine. . . . Pennsylvania is deeply indebted to the German settlers, who found a home within her borders, for the rapid advances which she early made towards prosperity. . . . It is eminently proper that we of the present day should consider these causes—and the incentives which prompted these [people] from Switzerland, Alsace, and the Palatinate, whose industry, frugality, and integrity proved so beneficial to the Colony."

Had this address of Judge Pennypacker been made in still more recent day, he might have added to his list of Pennsylvania's Pala-

* *Penn. Hist. Mag.*, iv., 3.

tine worthies the names of Zollicoffer, Heintzelman, and Siegel—names of honor among the soldiers of the Union in the War of the Rebellion. Worthy to be set also with these is that of Hartranft—borne by one of the most efficient governors of the State, and also by one of the most scholarly divines of the American Church.

And to these, others of equal honor might be added. But there is no need. The story of these Palatine folk in Pennsylvania and in New York is in itself a sufficient evidence that, when they came over the sea, they brought with them qualities and virtues which any land might be glad to welcome, and that, like men of other stock,—the Puritan, Dutch, Huguenot,—they conferred upon their new country blessings which it could not afford to lose.







NOTE I.

The following list of names, found in the records of the Palatine Immigrations and still common in the places settled by these people, suggests the sturdy and permanent quality of that stock. This list, be it said, is only fragmentary and suggestive, there being no need of complete transcription of those preserved in the records and archives of New York and Pennsylvania. The most of these names, it will be noted, retain to-day their original form. Any special changes from that form in modern use are noted with their originals :

Becker.	Werner, Warner
Kelmer, Kilmer.	Scheerer, Schearer.
Wolleben and de Wolleben, Wolven.	Kneiskern, Kniskern. Hartman.
Man, Mann.	Conrad.
Kremer, Kromer.	Christian.
Marterstork, Manterstock.	Heiser.
Froelich, Frelich, Fralick.	Herttranftt, Hartranft.
Egner.	Schnell.
Richart, Rickard.	Schell.
Eckertin, Eckard, Eckert.	Nelles, Nellis.
Emrich, Emerick.	Dachstader, Dochstater.



Meyer, Myer, Myers.	Bellinger.
Kuntz.	Widerwachs, Weatherwax.
Dietrich, Dedrick.	Hagedorn.
Turck.	Schaffer, Schaeffer and Schoeffer, Shaver.
Mynderse.	Leyer, Lawyer.
Dietz.	Kuhn, Koon, Coon.
Richtmeyer, Rightmyer.	Winter.
Beller.	Linck, Link.
Wirtman, Wortman.	Schneider, Snyder.
Sype.	Bauch, Bouck.
Bronner.	Kyser, Keiser, Keyser.
Albrecht, Allbright.	Segendorf.
Lichtner, Lintner.	Laux, Loucks.
Aappell, Appell.	Fuchs, Fox.
Acker.	Webber, Weaver.
Bower.	Bernhard, Bernard.
Schurtz.	Arendorff, Allendorph.
Muller.	Weygandt, Wygant, and many other forms.
Deichert, Decker.	Christler.
Hoffman.	Yeager.
Ehle, Ehl, Uhl.*	Brunner.
Jung, Young.	Hess.
Nehr, Neahr.	Wagner.
Reisch, Rish.	Neff.
Hager.	Funk.
Houck.	Stickler.
Bergman.	Gertner.
Weiser.	
Angle, Angell.	

* From this stock in Dutchess Co., N. Y., came Edwin F. Uhl,
U. S. Ambassador to Berlin in 1896-7.

Schiltz, Schultz, Schultis.	Gentner.
Wolfe.	Schenefeldt, Shufelt.
Schumacher, Schoemaker.	Keim.
Schoonmaker.	Dillinger.
Baer.	Schooup.
Wannermaker, Wannermaker.	Benker, Banker.
Newkirk.	Sullenger, Sellinger.
Klein, Cline.	Swartz, Swart.
Planck, Plank.	Michaells.
Sieknerin, Siekner, Signer.	Kiener, Keener.
Bronck, Brink.	Diebenderf, Devendorf.
Wormser.	Simmierman, Zimmerman.
Hayd, Haight, and Hayt.	Siebler.
Dill.	Zollicoffer.
	Timmerman.

This list might be indefinitely prolonged, but it is already sufficient for the purpose of illustration.

NOTE II.

The original Indentures by which Gov. Hunter apprenticed eighty-four of the Palatine children are preserved in the Library of the State of New York, bound together in one volume. They are all alike, save as to dates, names, and sex. Some of them are signed by the Governor as party of the first part, and in others his name is signed without the signature of the master. None of the children, however, was bound to him. Most of the indentures are witnessed by J. S. Wileman, who occupied the office of Register. A specimen is given below. As the Indenture which bound Zenger to Bradford, it has a special interest of its own.

“ THIS INDENTURE, made the Twenty Sixth Day of October, *Anno Domini*, 1710, and in the Ninth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady ANNE by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. Between His Excellency *Robert Hunter*, Esqr; Capt. General and Governor in Chief of the Provinces of *New York*, *New Jersey*, and Territories depending thereon in *America*, and Vice-Admiral of the same &c., of the one part, And *William Bradford* of the City of *New York* Printer, of the other part, Whereas his said Excellency in Council having determined the putting out of the Orphans of the Palatines (and some of those other Children whose Parents have too many to look after them and mind their Labour) for a certain time, upon the Conditions following, (*to wit*) The Boys till they arrive at the Age of Twenty one years, and the Girls till they arrive at the Age of Nineteen years; The Persons taking them entring into

Indentures, and Bond with Surety, in the Secretary's Office, to provide them with good and wholesome Meat, Drink, Lodging and Cloathing, and at the Expiration of the time to Surrender them to the Government ; his Excellency and Council engaging they shall respectively Serve till they arrive at the Ages aforesaid. Now this *Indenture Witnesseth*, That John Peter Zenger of the Age of Thirteen years, or there-abouts, Son of Hannah Zenger Widdow, one of the *Palatines* aforesaid, of his own free and voluntary Will by the Consent of the said Mother, and also By the consent and approbation of his Excellency, hath put himself out to the said William Bradford, his executors and administrators, with him and them to dwell and serve from the day of the date hereof for and during and unto the full end and term of Eight years from thence next ensuing and fully be Complet and Ended, for all which said Term of Eight years the said John Peter Zenger the said William Bradford his executors, and administrators well and truly shall serve, his and their Commands lawful and honest everywhere he shall do : The Goods of his said master his executors and administrators he shall not waste or destroy, nor from the Service of his said master his executors or administrators day nor night shall absent or prolong himself, but in all things as a good and faithful servant shall bear and behave himself towards his said master his executors & administrators during the said Term aforesaid. And the said William Bradford for himself his Executors and Administrators and every of them doth Covenant, Promise and Grant to and with his said Excellency and his Successors, that the said William Bradford his executors and administrators shall and

will during all the said Term of Eight years find and provide for the said John Peter Zenger good, sufficient and wholesome Meat, Drink and Cloathing ; And also shall and will at the end and Expiration of the said Term of Eight years surrender and deliver up the said John Peter Zenger well Cloathed to his said Excellency, or to the Governour or Commander in Chief of the said Province of New York, for the time being.

"In Witness whereof his said Excellency and the said William Bradford have hereunto Interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the day and year first above Written.

"WILL. BRADFORD. (seal)

"Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of [the several interlineations aforesaid of ye words, Executors and Administrators being first Interlined.]

"J. S. WILEMAN."

Tho the form of indenture calls for the signature of the Governor, yet his name is not affixed to the paper under which Zenger was bound. A special and curious clause of the indenture is that which requires the surrender to the Governor of the apprentices, on the expiration of their terms, instead of the usual turning over to their own mastership and guidance. What the Governor proposed to do with the young men and women thus returned to him does not appear, and it is not probable that he was at any time called upon to take further order about these boys and girls. By the time that their terms of service had expired his Excellency had quite given over any paternal care of the Palatines.

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